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# Near East/South Asia Report

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11 January 1985

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## IMPORTANCE OF TAX CONTRIBUTIONS EMPHASIZED

### Public Corporation Taxes

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 29 Nov-5 Dec 84 pp 11-13

[Article by A. Mahmoudi: "Test by Taxes"]

[Text] Respect for tax obligations is a compulsory aspect of good management. An enterprise which meets its tax obligations normally cannot help but have healthy, effective and open management.

This law which, since the economic reorganization and correction, has surfaced again, is being emphasized at the Ministry of Finance. We are also told what lies ahead for enterprises which do not pay their taxes. The era of the symbolic dinar is past.

Irksome for those who must pay them, taxes are nonetheless an essential source for the financing of publicly useful achievements. Without fiscal income, there could be no schools, hospitals, roads, housing or day nurseries. If paying one's taxes was regarded during the colonial period as a gesture of submission, it is of the very greatest importance that in our day, this same action should become synonymous with the duty of each citizen. Indeed, you taxpayers will say, "provided that the collectors of this debt owed by each individual to the state do not become veritable 'racketeers' as a result." Not at all, say the "tax agents," "there is no longer today any fiscal pressure. The system is considerably more flexible and tax levels relatively moderate." A truthful space must exist between the statements of the one and the rejoinders of the others. For without taxes, there is no state. And taxes which are too high kill taxation.

It must also be recognized that the realm of taxation is not a simple one. For this reason, we asked an expert for clarification. Mustapha Bensahli, who is a deputy director at the Ministry of Finance, helped us to situate the scope of the tax obligation which public enterprises must meet, saying among other things that "tax obligations represent the point of intersection in the relations between the tax departments and the public enterprises. That having been said, it is necessary in fact, in order to have an understanding of tax obligations as a whole, to establish their actual juridical and practical scope.

In terms of juridical scope, the obligation, generally speaking, presumes, by definition, the existence of two legal entities, to wit the creditor and the debtor.

The former necessarily has claims upon the latter for payment of the debt contracted, and can, if necessary, use constraints against him, with possible recourse to legal action.

While to a certain extent this definition finds full justification where the relations between the tax administration and the private individual are concerned, except that suit for recovery may be direct because of the nature of the tax debt, this is not the case when it comes to the relations between the tax administration and public enterprises.

In fact these latter relations appear in principle in terms of solidarity, since the tax administration emanates from the state and these enterprises are in a way the normal and inevitable extension of the state, if not divisions of it.

In this connection, it is possible to state that the tax administration and the public enterprises serve in practice to implement the same mission, since the purpose is to achieve the national development goals, except for the fact that their respective roles are different.

As to the practical scope of tax obligations, its full significance can be seen on the macroeconomic and microeconomic levels, because taxation is not an isolated phenomenon, being linked with the immediate environment and interacting with the other socioeconomic factors within the framework of planned development.

From the macroeconomic point of view, the conditions under which tax obligations are met and the results are reflected in the financial and socioeconomic parameters.

In terms of the financial aspect, the consistent application of resources obtained as a result of fiscal obligations met is the preponderant input both to the state budget and those of the local collectives. Along this line of thinking, the new territorial distribution of the governorates and communes will lead to a review of resource allocation."

In other words a study of tax obligations can be seen in terms of priorities, such that the public enterprises are called upon to contribute tax resources insofar as possible in proportion to the extent of their activities in the various economic sectors.

Here there is a goal of balance, justified the more since within the context of international economic crisis, the product of oil taxation is tending to dwindle.

In view of the fact that public expenditures cannot be excessively reduced, it is highly desirable for the public enterprises to take responsibility for

their tax obligations efficiently and without default. A considerable number of these enterprises are working in this direction, to the point that some provide an exemplary model of respect for their tax obligations.

If taxation thus becomes profitable, with fiscal pressure itself balanced, this without a doubt reflects the health of our economy.

Analysis shows that the structure of the tax resources as conceived on the level of the state budget is the result of socioeconomic considerations, and the distributive effects where the expenditures category is concerned are seen in the great achievements of the country: schools, roads, hospitals, etc.

The same is true from the microeconomic approach, where tax obligations have an impact on the management level.

In fact, tax obligations and management are two aspects of the same reality. In other words, it is impossible to separate one from the other, and each is inevitably dependent on the other.

Tax obligations find their legitimate place in enterprise management, and naturally this is a more acute matter given the current concern with rationality, profitability and rigor in management.

In brief, respect for tax obligations becomes the necessary path to good management, and experience has fully demonstrated this, so that a public enterprise which meets its tax obligations normally cannot generally fail to have healthy, efficient and straightforward management, while an enterprise which neglects its tax obligations will be characterized by management which may be in serious trouble.

The activities of public enterprises often reveal that they are locked into a network of tax control of a very constraining sort, such that they face burdensome tax obligations. Once again, Mr Bensahli responded to our question by facing up to this problem and going to the heart of the matter. "The concept of tax obligation is distorted in these instances, and it is important to explain its nature, which reveals its full legitimacy.

Tax obligations are consistent with constitutional rules, as a result of which they are an attribute of the public authority.

It follows that they differ basically from the contractual obligations assumed among themselves by private parties, the execution of which sometimes requires the aid of the courts.

Tax obligations are unilateral, and as a result the tax administration is invested with the authority to guarantee their execution, within, naturally, the limits of the guarantees provided to taxpayers.

The legitimacy of tax obligations is also the result of the fact that they have been adopted by the APN [National People's Assembly], which is made up of elected representatives.

In order further to demonstrate that the assertion that the tax obligations are too limiting and burdensome upon business does not stand up to an examination of the facts, it suffices to list the tax obligations borne by this sector.

When it comes to tax obligations as such, they are not legion and are relatively simple.

The main tax obligation is that of payment, and the others, such as decentralization, maintaining accounts, filing declarations, etc., derive therefrom.

The payment obligation is imperative with a view to supplying the budgets of the state and the local collectives regularly. It thus falls to the enterprises to pay the taxes they owe within the prescribed time period.

Taxes need to be paid in normal fashion, particularly since an analysis of the fiscal debt structure often reveals that the enterprise has simply played the role of collection agent for the treasury, as is the case with the taxes on turnover (TUGP [single total production tax] and TUGPS [single total tax on services rendered]) and the ITS [tax on salaries and wages], among others.

In such cases, the enterprise merely carries such taxes as the TUGP and the TUGPS over into the prices it charges, or it withholds the tax at the source, as with the ITS.

The tax system is a declarative system, and the enterprises must file their declarations when they begin to exercise their activity and when they cease to do so, and all of their income must also be shown in declarations within the prescribed time period.

The obligation to maintain accounting records is not specific to fiscal law, but is also required by commercial law and the national accounting plan.

This obligation makes it possible to establish the real figures pertaining to the activity of the enterprise, and it avoids the concealment of results, if indeed it does not in the end even regulate the activity of the enterprise.

Another obligation currently in effect is that of decentralization. Public enterprises have a tendency to require centralization of accounting at the headquarters of the enterprise, so that the taxes for all of the units scattered variously throughout the national territory can be paid on that level as well.

Not only is this contrary to the tax laws, which are categorical, and which expressly require decentralization on the level of each unit with financial and management autonomy, but also, decentralization comes within a political context.

Therefore the reorganization of public enterprises undertaken as a result constitutes an expression of decentralization.

Certain local taxes, such as the TAIC [tax on trade and manufacturing activities] and the TUGPS, should be paid in the commune where they are incurred so that these communes can benefit directly. This is consistent with the concern with balancing the regions, for otherwise, in the event of centralization, only the major communes in which the enterprise headquarters are located will benefit.

If centralization occurs, the tax on industrial and commercial profits is likely to dwindle to nothing as a result of the compensation of the results achieved by the various profitable and deficit units in terms of a consolidated balance.

Decentralization is an irreversible phenomenon which has reached the point of no return, and in itself it places responsibility for management on the level of each financially autonomous unit.

Naturally, this decentralization is not systematic, and it is effected for certain types of activities, such as enterprise work and studies with regard to the TUGP, TUGPS and TAIC.

Without any need to list all of the other fiscal obligations which are justified, such as those pertaining to enterprise reorganization, it must be noted that numerous public enterprises are meeting their obligations without difficulty, and with regard to the others, which are continually in default, laxity has certainly been an important factor."

But what methods of action are available to the tax administration to regularize the status of precisely this latter category? The question is indeed a rather brutal one, as was Mr Bensahli's response.

"The tax administration cannot continue to carry the weight of the enterprises which pay little attention to their tax obligations.

If this were our attitude, the tax income for the state budget and local activities would feel the effects.

The tax administration is legally equipped with tools enabling it to pursue any default on tax obligations to the end.

Thus when it comes to the tax base, when an enterprise fails to file its declaration so that the proper taxes can be collected from it, an arbitrary tax can be imposed.

This arbitrary taxation involves establishing a tax approaching the real sum as close as possible, based on the data items available and the cross-checks made, accompanied by penalties for failure to declare.

If the enterprise subsequently provides proof that this tax was excessive, the department may revise the sum.

With regard to collection, when an enterprise fails to pay the taxes duly imposed, the tax departments can have recourse to attachment or notice to third holders (ATD).

Attachment involves obtaining sums belonging to the taxpayer from a paying body, often a bank.

This practice, which represents the last recourse when other means have failed, has become common since the establishment of the mechanism making the financial reorganization of public enterprises possible, pursuant to Article 12 of the 1983 Finance Law and Articles 27 to 29 of the 1984 Finance Law.

Previously, it must be admitted, the situation was relatively comfortable as a result of the ample public finances provided by oil taxation, but since the facts are now altered, the use of the attachment procedure has become almost routine, unless the enterprise is prepared to settle its tax debts within, if necessary, a reasonable extension period.

All these failures to meet tax obligations constitute violations leading to penalties, not only to correct the damage suffered by the treasury, but also to discourage enterprises from repeating the lapse.

These situations could be avoided if only the enterprises concerned took the trouble to meet their tax obligations normally, and they could also avoid the exchange of correspondence to settle the heavy load of complaints which result therefrom."

The enterprises, for their part, put forth a certain number of arguments to justify their failure to meet their tax obligations, or at the very least to explain their delay in meeting them. Among these justifications, we might note the lack of or turnover in accounting and fiscal cadres, the complexity of the tax legislation, and above all, the lack of coordination between the tax departments and the public enterprises. The tax administration, through Mr Bensahli, offers the following responses concerning these three problems.

"Each of these reasons requires some explanation. With regard to the lack of and turnover in tax and accounting cadres, the 22 years which have elapsed since the advent of the country's independence should have allowed some of the public enterprises involved to eliminate this phenomenon by suitable preparation and training in the accounting and tax realm.

In order to manage well, as they say, one must look ahead. Despite everything, one can see quite an improvement in this sector. On the subject of the complexity of the tax legislation, there are two hypotheses. In brief, according to the first, the tax legislation is inaccessible and remains the realm of experts, and thus needs to be drastically simplified in order to be easily implemented.

The second hypothesis has it that, on the contrary, the tax system is characterized by technical mechanisms which can be mastered. Whatever the case, if there is complexity, which I would say is apparent, it derives from the concern for tax equity and the imposition of taxation without distortion.

It does not seem possible in fact to standardize the tax system without taking the nature of the activities and the type of income earned into account.



To accord the same tax treatment to all income whatever its source--liberal professions, commercial and industrial enterprise, farm or wage-earning activities--would go against the social ethic and those earning modest incomes would be likely to suffer thereby.

Although the tax system has been well-tested, the legislators seek constantly to make the needed improvements to it regularly, within the framework of the finance laws.

While it does not seem possible to dismantle the tax system in order to push simplification to the extreme, this is because of the adverse effects likely to result in terms of tax income and the economy of the country itself.

Caution in this realm is the rule, because there is no question of effecting reform for its own sake. Currently a reform commission is contemplating measures likely to be proposed and some which have been submitted and approved.

As to the lack of coordination between the tax departments and the enterprises, it is obvious.

Some public enterprises tend to settle their tax problems at a distance, and they settle for solutions which are often inconsistent with the legal texts in effect.

Coordination is increasingly and more efficiently being developed to the benefit of public enterprise management.

Within the context of this coordination, the tax administration is making a constant effort to anticipate, insofar as possible, the tax problems encountered by public enterprises, by granting them some rather substantial advantages."

However, all these developments achieved to date in the tax situation of the public enterprises should not cause us to lose sight of the fact that enterprises exist in an environment which is not always favorable to them, and which prevents them from coping with classic taxation. Among the problems encountered by the public enterprises, it should suffice for us to mention here the recovery of debts owed them, which often total tens of billions. The tax administration can hardly ignore this situation, and it is for this reason that it grants public enterprises certain advantages, about which Mr Bensahli had a word to say to us. "The advantages involve granting payment extensions consistent with the interests of the treasury, and taking the financial capacity of the enterprise into account when it is faced with real difficulties, on the one hand. On the other hand, there are extensions for filing petitions, above all with a view to the reorganization of public enterprises, so that this can be done under the best conditions.

Similarly, with regard to penalties, the appeal commission has ruled in favor of a substantial postponement for public enterprises which decide to regularize their tax situations.

The tax administration avoids the use of legal arsenal available to force public enterprises, by means of coercive action, to pay the taxes owed, taking the nature of their operations into account. The procedure of seizing furnishings, for example, is not used against these enterprises.

On the legal level, public enterprises benefit:

--On the one hand, from exemption from the TUGP, that is to say exemption on all the equipment goods purchased for taxable production activities, while a plant built is regarded as equipment goods.

--On the other hand, exemption from the BIC [tax on trade and manufacturing profits] for 3 years, from the TAIC, and from the VF [standard tax] for 5 years, if a truly new enterprise engaging in industrial production activity is involved.

Thus the range of advantages and benefits is relatively acceptable, and is capable of aiding the public enterprises in their management."

#### Taxation Is Not Abnormal

Taxes are a tool and business is a taxpayer. In fact, because of the nature of the socialist enterprise and the role it plays within the framework of the national plan for economic development, the concept of taxation is seen as a method of contribution enabling the state, in accordance with a definitive system, to make deductions from the resources of the enterprise to subsidize expenditures of general interest.

Since taxation is established as a function of the capacity of the enterprise to pay, it cannot be regarded as an abnormal burden, much less cited as a factor which may upset the financial balance of the enterprise.

It appears from the financial diagnoses made that the main reasons for enterprise imbalance are to be found in areas other than taxation.

In this connection, it has been demonstrated that lacking turnover funds, enterprise units in general, when they are established, systematically turn to bank credit to guarantee the financing of taxes deducted from operational resources.

In addition, in the majority of cases, the financing of investments for expansion and renovation is obtained via medium-term bank credit, and the burden imposed by the financial cost of such credit on enterprise operations is not negligible, either.

This situation has been made more acute by the level of debt accumulated by public sector enterprises, and all of this has led the public authorities to initiate corrective measures. An enterprise which pays its taxes is a healthy enterprise.

Note: The author of the above article, A. Mahmoudi, also wrote the 1983 OPU work entitled "Application of the TUGP."

## Private Sector Taxes

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 29 Nov-5 Dec 84 p 14

[Article by A. Sayoud: "A Game for Two"]

[Text] The people do not love taxation in their hearts. This is a feeling as old as any of the world's professions. And yet, taxation is an obligation. A duty. Everyone agrees on this, but the method and respect for the established laws and rules of the game remain at issue. There are two points of view on this subject: that of the tax administration and that of private individuals.

Visibly astounded, the good fellow repeated over and over that he no longer understood anything, and that if matters continued in that fashion, there would be no other solution than to close his shop. "A tax of 60 million centimes on turnover!" this Boulevard Mohamed V bakery owner reiterated. "When this business is already encountering monstrous difficulties, 60 million centimes on turnover!" This is a round figure which seems to have stuck in his throat like a lump of bread, but one which did not however prevent him from reciting the long list of the difficulties encountered in his sector of activities. And this letter from the owner of a laundry located at 50 Avenue Emir Abdelkader in Ouargla who "had to pay a tax sum of 561,032.89 dinars, including 100 percent penalty on the tax base and 10 percent penalty on collection." This correction pertained to activity over 4 years (1977-1980) and "was in addition to the taxes...already normally and promptly paid in the amount of 85,323.10 dinars for 3 years of activity (1977, 1978 and 1979), thus making a total of 646,355.99 dinars." The reason for this tax correction was the failure to deliver all of the ticket stubs for the period in question to the tax inspectors. Examples of this kind are legion. And one has but to cast a glance at the letters and other reports sent to the offices of the small tradesmen and craftsmen's unions to gain an idea of the problem. All sectors--hotels, butcher shops, bakeries, textiles, and footwear, construction--are involved and are voicing their views on taxation.

Since time immemorial, tithing has never been dear to the hearts of the people, and they have the same feeling toward taxes. Does this mean that the private business in the various sectors are against taxation? Far from it, and as the Union of Tradesmen and Craftsmen explains in a report, "It is not our intention to evade taxes." Payment of taxes remains an obligation and a duty.

Taxation remains the source of an incalculable contribution to the public treasury, and its economic and social usefulness constitutes one of the most basic truths. The taxpayer, from the lowest-wage earner to the master of the largest turnover total in the country, and including the public sector, participates in the development and in the business of building the country. This is a law and a rule of the game accepted everywhere. What then can be the role of the private sector, with all its many activities, in the economy of the country? What relationship does this sector have with the tax administration?

If the worker or the office employee needs only to glance at his pay slip to know what ITS [tax on salaries and wages] has been withheld at the source, that is not true for the other sectors of economic activity. To what kinds of direct taxes are private economic operators subject?

A number of taxes are imposed, of which the most familiar remains the tax on trade and manufacturing profits (BIC). It is the most important tax and the rate varies: it is 20 percent if the taxpayer has opted for administrative assessment, 25 percent within the framework of the real profits system, and 60 percent for companies. In most cases, private taxpayers find the rates high and demand reductions therein, above all where companies are concerned, to the extent that a number of family businesses are organized as SARL [limited liability companies]. In answer to this demand, the tax administration offers "the choice of the real profits system, which would then take all of the charges borne by the stockholders into account."

There are thus two weights and two measurement standards, for which each party has its arguments. However, for the UNPCA [National Union of Algerian Communal Peasants], this choice, with the costs it entails for maintaining accounting records, poses difficulties for its members, due to the lack of accounting departments capable of providing this essential service.

The other duty imposed on the taxpayer is the TAIC, calculated on the turnover total. This tax is above all designed to finance the budgets of the local collectives. It is a tax on the economic and social utility of every activity, and is also a method for participation by the private sector in local development. The ICR is a supplementary tax imposed on all other income. It is established on the basis of schedules which to a certain extent grant an advantage to the largest incomes and thus the largest investments, which create jobs and have multiple consequent effects capable of making certain sectors of economic activity more dynamic. But the point of dispute between the two parties remains that taxation method called administrative assessment. There are two points of view and two conclusions which are different, not to say totally opposite. The private enterprises, all activities taken together, headed by their union of small businessmen and craftsmen, find this tax unkind to them, "unjust" and sometimes "arbitrary," because the tax administration has a power of notification here, and in the majority of cases, the methods of recourse do not work to the advantage of the taxpayers. In the view of the UNPCA, "this form of taxation involves many oversights, and the reassessments, which are always upward and never downward, hardly contribute to the business success of craftsmen and tradesmen. In this instance the concept of a contract between the tax administration and the taxpayer is violated unilaterally by the former party, and the reassessments involve very simply a doubling if not the tripling, or even worse, of the sums due."

"People have only to choose the real profits system to avoid administrative assessment," the tax administration retorts. "In truth, administrative assessment, and the tax bases which it establishes, fall well below the reality." Using figures and forceful arguments, an official in this department at the Ministry of Finance sets forth the reasons reassessment is necessary. "If everyone played the game, and if the taxpayers met their obligations in

accordance with the law, everyone would be fairly treated.... The figures in declarations based on turnover are in many cases too low, and the tax administration finds itself forced to make reassessments."

The Union of Craftsmen and Tradesmen has an equally pertinent retort. "Why then are declarations accepted in the first place? Why must we wait 2 or 3 years to be told they are unrealistic?" "Given the shortage of tax cadres and the impossibility of immediately establishing the taxable base, administrative assessment remains, for the time being, the best means of combatting tax fraud." These are two points of view which are apparently far apart. What then is the solution? First of all, what is essential and primary is dialogue and exchange of information between the two parties. These are two processes which offer the advantage of bringing the administration closer to its taxpayers. And then, as Mr Abada, the head of the tradesmen's union, explains, "taxation must be humanized and moralized, for if paying taxes is an obligation and a duty which allows us to contribute to the building of the country, it should also allow the craftsman or the tradesman to live decently." In the view of the tax administration, "taxation should be moralized before it is humanized, and this obviously requires respect for the rules of the game." Does this mean that all private taxpayers are flouting the law in the tax sector? The UNPCA does not think so, and is prepared to play its role in developing the conscience of its members. If such a task does not however seem easy, it is necessary first and foremost to establish very precise tax bases, because "in all cases, the imposition of direct taxes is based almost entirely on the (profit) margin established. Now we know that this margin is a gross figure, and takes operational charges and costs into account only to a very tiny extent." What should be done then, what is the solution?

Improvements have been made to the tax system. First of all, in an initial phase, its "Algerianization," and then measures ensuring greater flexibility, in particular through the introduction of progressive rate schedules where the supplementary tax on income (ICR) is concerned. But this improvement pertains above all to high incomes. The deductions, which came to about 80 percent for capital in excess of 180,000 dinars, is now only 50 percent when the turnover total exceeds 320,000 dinars.

This is a measure encouraging private national investment. It is a healthy one indeed, but one from which taxpayers with modest incomes hardly benefit. The fiscal system, with its various taxes (BIC, TAIC, ICR), and above all its tax method based on administrative assessment, although it remains "a good system" in the eyes of the administration, "does not seem to have the support of all of the taxpayers. And the Union of Tradesmen and Craftsmen plans to pursue a debate on the imperfections and the shortcomings which prevent our tax system from adapting to the reality."

In particular, it wants a reduction of tax pressure as a whole, through a reduction in the percentage of the BIC, which it wants made progressive, like the ICR schedule. Or will more radical solutions be sought then, with a standardization of rates, and, why not, the establishment of a single tax which would take the interests of the state and those of private taxpayers simultaneously into account?

## Tax Evasion

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 29 Nov-5 Dec 84 p 15

[Article by Meziane Ourad: "Cat and Mouse"]

[Text] Take any tradesman or businessman and ask him what his pet peeve is. "Taxes!" he will tell you. "They suck your blood." Our reporter has established the truth. Such talk is the cover for a phenomenon called tax fraud.

Take any head of a family earning the interoccupational minimum growth wage and ask him in turn to name his worst enemy. "Businessmen! They are hacking us to pieces. They take us for 'Djeha asses.' They keep cutting our soup ration. They want us dead, they are robbing us blind." As soon as one puts a foot into the world of taxation, the verb "to steal" begins to be heard at full volume in all its forms. It is conjugated by everyone in any circumstance and with reference to all.

"Tax fraud has become a national sport," Mr Naili, the national tax director, told us. "Piracy is the specialty of the tax department," say the taxpayers with whom we were able to talk. What is the truth of the matter? The opinion voiced at the main tax office at the Ministry of Finance was categorical. "The concept of taxation has been distorted here. This compulsory financial contribution by each citizen is seen as a tool of oppression, or again as a 'vestige' of the colonial era, while in fact, it is but what each individual contributes to the coverage of public costs."

This is the same as saying that if no one will give up, if only when forced and not voluntarily, a part of his income, there could be no hospitals, schools, roads, housing or other infrastructures of public usefulness. To refuse to pay the whole or a part of one's tax, Messrs Naili and Barkat, national tax administration officials, told us, would mean "stealing from oneself, while at the same time depriving one's fellow citizens of things necessary to their well-being."

This discussion about the failure of taxpayers to do their duty is not a hollow or needless one. If such a discussion exists it is because of the existence of a very real and above all widespread practice, one which takes on the scope of a gangrenous infection almost impossible to cure: tax fraud.

What then is this ailment which, good years and bad, is found among us and which, in the plain sight of all, is slowly gnawing away at a good part of our economy? Tax fraud, Mr Naili reminds us, "is an illegal and deliberate action on the part of taxpayers who attempt to avoid payment of their taxes by various maneuvers." The ways in which tax evasion is practiced are numerous. The main ones are reduction of stated sales prices, purchase and sale without invoices, the claiming of nonexistent costs and inflated loans, etc. And worse, there are even, in our country, enterprises which do not declare income--hundreds of them, alive and very active. We are not counting all of the craftsmen working for themselves, "because it is madness to take a job when a situation on the border of anarchy allows you to be an unidentified and unidentifiable business owner." Nor do we take into account the

hundreds of enterprises which keep accounts only on the income from the public sector, while nonetheless keeping careful account and very often "inflating" expenditures pertaining to private transactions.

The list of fraudulent maneuvers is long, and as a result, so is the list of blows dealt to the state budget.

How and why is it no successful battle has been waged against this phenomenon, at the very least a devastating one? "We are not lacking in ideas," Mr Barkat, deputy director of investigation and verification at the ministry, told us. "What is sad is the disparity between our resources and our area of action--a gap which our enthusiasm has never succeeded in closing. How, in a country in which everyone (industrialists, businessmen, craftsmen) cheats, is it possible to wage an effective battle with an 'army' as small as the one we have?" One hundred and fifty investigators for a territory as vast as ours and taxpayers numbering in the thousands is really nothing. As many new hands, if not more, dip into the sack every year than are caught.

In 1982, the team of examiners at the suboffice for investigation recovered 900 million dinars (90 billion centimes) for the state. "With a team of 300 individuals, the state could have recovered double that amount. With a little more consideration, and in particular specific material resources (housing, vehicles and decent wages) for these people who constantly travel back and forth throughout the country, examining all kinds of accounting records, they would doubtless have been able to nab even more violators," Mr Barkat went on. What is it that prevents the ministry from hiring more inspectors? Why doesn't it provide its inspectors with service vehicles and housing? Why are they not given specific bonuses to make them invulnerable to the crossed palms extended to them everywhere? "Quite simply because we are imprisoned by regulations which at times border on the absurd," Mr Naili told us. "Our inspectors are employees of the ministry, and as such, they are governed by the civil service laws. Thus they cannot benefit from specific advantages. God knows, however, that they need to, because their work is in no way a sinecure. The majority of them, moreover, would give a great deal to hang up their heavy boots and to do office work like everyone else and go home at 5 o'clock."

On closer examination, this business of legal texts does not suffice to explain the paralysis of which the fiscal departments are guilty, willingly or otherwise. What could this insurmountable technical obstacle preventing the training of more investigators be? The complexity of the tax laws? This subject should not, after all, constitute an occult science! We do indeed train data technicians, physicians, biologists, language experts--why not tax cadres? Is this too hard? Is it forgotten at one time or another that taxes are one of the main sources of income for the state?

Moreover, this problem of personnel is not the only hindrance to the actions of the investigative departments. There is also laxity on the part of the public enterprises and the banks, which rarely work with the tax administration. If that administration could obtain exhaustive information simply on the sales of the domestic enterprises, and if in addition it were possible, whenever necessary, to cast a glance at the bank accounts of taxpayers, a

great step would then have been taken toward rationalizing the investigation and verification operations. A computer would in fact solve the problem, and that is something which exists, does it not?

The life of a tax inspector is in the final analysis not all roses, and the life of a taxpayer is no more so, we were told by Ammi Mohamed, an elderly metalworker. "For my part I pay the fixed tax (administrative assessment), and what I pay out for taxes burns me a little more every year. First of all it is they who establish my turnover total. They never agree to tax me on what I declare. Do they even know about all the supply problems we encounter? Do they know that we can never declare the real amount of our expenditures, because the majority of the materials and the products we use are bought on the black market? Do they know also that we often pay more workers than we declare, because if we were to declare them all, we would be working only to support the insurance and tax funds? No, they know nothing about all this, or rather yes, they know it, but everyone pretends not to know what is happening in front of him, and so we maneuver and cheat a little bit here and they penalize us a little bit there. One year one gets off well enough, while another year one is brought to his knees."

Tahar, for his part, is a small construction entrepreneur. His turnover total is barely above the 90-million centime threshold which pushes him into the group of those who really pay taxes. This means that he has to pay a tax on profits, a supplementary tax at the end of each year, as well as some other trifles, such that "one barely gets by," he told us. "I am still lucky to find small jobs to do for private persons which I do not declare, for this allows me to maintain a balance, precarious indeed, but a balance just the same. But tomorrow? That is a mystery. At any time, we little fellows may be done for. There are only the big ones, those who earn tremendous profits and people with turnover totals in the billions who are sure of survival today." A bitter statement, you will tell us. Can it be that we live in a country which wants to "plunder" the poor and encourage the rich? "That is not true," we were told at the ministry. "The small merchants do well enough, and you would be wrong to weep over their fate. They are left more than enough to live on and then there is the cheating. Have they told you how much money goes into their pockets but is not declared? For the others, the large private enterprises, it is a simple matter. We have made a judgment and it is in every way the most just thing that in the country where the largest part of the economic activity is a state matter, it should not be the smallest 'partner,' in this instance the private businessman, who should feed the public treasury through taxation. Until now, our domestic enterprises have rarely paid their taxes. Worse still, they do not pass on to us the ITS [tax on wages and salaries deducted at the source] which they collect for us." And now? "With the reorganization, the enterprises will be forced to do this."

Let us return to Ammi Mohamed and Tahar. Do they ever cheat? "Yes," they were both quick to admit. "It is necessary for us, it is the price of our survival."

While we wait for this entire situation to be corrected, the cat and the mice continue to play at a game which is very dangerous for our economy. An umpire with a heavy fist and above all, with a brain--that is what is needed.



## New Income Tax System

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 29 Nov-5 Dec 84 pp 16-17

[Article by G. B.: "Questions and Answers on the ITS"]

[Text] In accordance with the law setting forth the General Workers Statute, a national system for classifying jobs (1,200 model job descriptions, grouped into 15 sectors, with an index scale of 100 to 800) will be put into use in order to standardize wages among sectors and to ensure a better economic yield. This is the only long-range means of improving the standard and conditions of living for the people in lasting fashion.

The modification of the ITS system comes within the general framework of income distribution among the workers, the state (and local collectives) and social security. The proposed system (taxation of gross rather than net wages, after deduction of social security contributions; generalized abatement at the base, accelerated progressive scale for taxation rates) "lends itself better to amendments, either in the amount of the abatement or in the schedule itself" (explanation of justifications).

More specifically, it prevents any supplementary deduction for social security from resulting in a decrease in the fiscal resources of the state.

Another of the goals sought is the introduction of more fiscal justice, through a better assessment of the tax base and the progressive rate schedule, as well as the reduction of the gap based on family status. But the application of the new schedules does not substantially alter individual tax pressure. The calculations based on a representative sampling of the active population show that the deduction will reduce the minimum only 3.7 to 3.9 percent (single or childless married farmworker), and will increase the maximum by only 1.3 to 1.9 percent (unmarried higher farm cadre). For the majority of the wage earners, the changes will be negligible. The reduction of tax inequality does however require a better distribution of the pressure of the tax burden among the various socioprofessional categories (Article 78 of the constitution: "All citizens are equal for tax purposes"). In fact, all the wage earners taxed on the whole of their income at the source pay proportionally more taxes than the other categories of taxpayers. The latter, thanks to the shortcomings suffered by the tax collection and inspection departments, have wide latitude in fact for engaging in fraud and tax evasion or for transferring tax costs to the consumers.

### Successive Improvements

From the point of view of profitability, the ITS does in fact offer many advantages. It eliminates the requirement that taxpayers file declarations, it avoids fraud, and it provides the treasury with a monthly income in fresh money. And it limits the multiplication of contacts between the state and the citizen, "a particularly sensitive relationship always seen, in our situation, in terms of a dominant state" (director general of taxes). "When one's pocket is touched, the effect is electric," a tax inspector expresses

it more pictorially. Since its adoption in 1965, the ITS system has seen numerous improvements dictated by the development of socioeconomic factors.

The 1972 Finance Law granted tax exemption to citizens with incomes equal to or less than the interoccupational guaranteed minimum wage. Article 45 of the 1978 Finance Law (the first to be submitted to and approved by the APN since 1965) modified the direct tax code and exempted not only wage earners, but also those drawing pensions and life annuities whose monthly gross income did not exceed 800 dinars from the ITS. The hourly farm wage rate was increased to 4.21 dinars to bring the agricultural guaranteed minimum wage into line with the interoccupational guaranteed minimum wage. The law (78-12) setting forth the General Workers Statute was approved on 5 August 1978.

Following the decision to reassess wages and pensions for state employees (25 to 30 percent per graduated stage), a new monthly and hourly wage schedule was published beginning in November 1977 and through 1978, establishing a new monthly wage span between 760 and 4,860 dinars.

The ITS which went into effect then was still applied to the schedule established in 1965, based on a more limited span (from 400 to 2,000 dinars), and the maintenance of this wage ceiling led to total tax exemption for incomes under 2,000 dinars. And this despite the substantial increase in wages resulting from nontaxable bonuses and indemnification.

The 1979 Finance Law was to introduce a "profound reform in taxation, affecting the wage earners' sector," in order to eliminate the feeling of unease and the sense of injustice born of the widening of the gap between government employees and the economic sector (and within the latter, among the various enterprises), as the minister of finance stressed in presenting the draft law to the APN.

Henceforth, taxation was based on the overall sum received monthly: wages plus indemnities (some exceptions, such as the zonal indemnity, are still in effect), and the modification approved also eliminated another tax exemption (after 4 years) implicitly favoring larger families, with a reduction to only three civil status categories (single, married but childless, and married with children).

But it was not to achieve the desired results. The role of the ITS as a percentage of direct taxes increased from one-quarter in 1967 (180 million dinars out of 750 million) to less than a third in 1973 (510 million dinars out of 1,626,000,000). It reached 57 percent in 1979, i.e., the same level as in 1977. But the overall ITS total increased only 5 percent between 1978 and 1979 (from 2,810,000,000 to 2,971,000,000 dinars). And it was to drop in 1980 (2,628,000,000) by 13 percent, in comparison to 1979.

The Planning and Finance Commission of the APN charged in 1981 that ordinary taxation, with a tendency towards stagnation, was relatively weak, and in 1982 it urged "a return to a healthy situation" (coverage of operational expenditures by ordinary income), "a real challenge, the answer to which is to be found on two levels--both expenditures and income."

An interministerial commission for fiscal review was appointed in November 1982. Tax reform was to begin during 1983, to be implemented beginning in January 1985, the minister of finance announced at that time.

In 1983, consistent with the economic and social resolution adopted by the Fourth Congress of the FLN Party, asking the Central Committee to "study suitable measures for organizing effective control of financial resources," the Finance Law was designed to get at high incomes, including those of wage earners, when evidenced by exterior signs of wealth: possession of second homes, yachts, chalets, multiple vehicles, rental of party premises, etc. This measure could never be implemented, for lack of adequate inspection resources.

With regard to wages, this law established the extent to which wages of less than 1,000 dinars or between 1,000 and 3,000 dinars could be attached by the treasury for payment of taxes, duties, fees or other preferential debts at two-tenths (instead of four-tenths for 800 dinars) and four-tenths (instead of six-tenths for 1,000 dinars).

Withholding at the source was extended in 1984 at their request to lawyers and public defenders, to cover fees (established by decree) recorded at the time of reporting transactions. The lack of effective control resources makes the possibility of implementing this adjustment theoretical.

#### The New System

In its report on the draft 1984 finance law, the Planning and Finance Commission of the APN said that the ITS, a simple formula with high productivity, should be revised in order to eliminate certain distortions in the system of schedules, to guarantee a better progressive scale of taxation, to eliminate certain tax gaps based on family status, to adapt it to the wage policy and to adjust this tax system to the development of deductions effected for social security purposes.

The new ITS system which will go into effect on 1 January 1985 is designed to take all these recommendations into account.

Any wage or pension received will benefit from an abatement at the base of 1100 dinars (which will develop with each change in the taxation threshold). Above this level, income is subject to a base taxation rate established at 15 percent for single persons, 13 percent for childless married persons and 11 percent for married persons with children. The progressive scale is based on a stratification of income: each given stratum corresponds to a "step," i.e., an increase in the tax rate for each additional 10 dinars.

For example, a single worker earning 2,000 dinars will be taxed on the segment between 1,100 and 2,000 dinars:

--The first 10 dinars of the base are taxed at 15 percent;

--The next 10 are taxed at  $15 + 0.04$  ("step") = 15.04 percent;

--The next 10 are taxed at  $15.04 + 0.04 = 15.08$  percent; and

--The last 10 in the stratum are taxed at 15.356 percent.

For the next stratum, even if the "step" remains identical, the first 10 dinars in the stratum are taxed at  $15.356 + 0.04 = 15.360$  percent, and so on.

To establish the total ITS corresponding to a given wage level, it suffices, fortunately, to consult the established tax table.

Table 1

	Single Persons		Childless Married Persons		Married Persons With Children	
	<u>ITS*</u>	<u>% of salary</u>	<u>ITS*</u>	<u>% of salary</u>	<u>ITS*</u>	<u>% of salary</u>
1210 dinars per month	16.5	1.4	14.6	1.8	12.1	1
3,000	292.2	9.7	253.7	8.46	214.8	7.2
5,000	615.9	12.3	533.4	10.67	451.6	9
30,000	948.7	31.6	677.18	22.6	614.1	20.5

\* in dinars

Thus, for example:

The ITS schedule was established on the basis of a standard social security contribution of about 6 percent, chosen to replace the two earlier systems (+9 percent for government employees, but with a ceiling of 2,000 dinars, and 4.5 percent, with no ceiling, for other sectors).

And it was established for wages up to the threshold of 30,000 dinars per month.

Between 1967 and 1982 (October 1984 MPAT statistics), the total employed population practically doubled, increasing from 1,724,900 individuals to 3,422,000. The 3 million mark was surpassed in 1979.

And average hourly wages practically tripled between 1969 and 1981, both for average hourly wages, all categories taken together (x3.3), and hourly wages for unskilled manpower (x3.12).

Table 2

	Average Wage in Dinars Per Hour				
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>
All categories	2.07	4.12(x2)	5.43	6.46	6.84
Unskilled	1.82	3.07(+68%)	5.37	5.37	5.80

The substantial increase in 1979 (+32 percent and +46 percent) was substantially cut back in 1981 (+5 percent and +8 percent), corresponding in fact to a decline in purchasing power due to inflation.

Between 1967 and 1983, on the other hand, ITS deductions increased from 184 million dinars to 4,595,000,000 (x25).

Table 3

<u>1967</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
184	535	510	1838	2971	2628	3220	3420	4595

Note: Statistics provided by MPAT.

This total was practically to triple between 1967 and 1970, subsequently declining slightly before tripling again in the course of the second 4-year plan, and reaching almost 3 billion dinars in 1979 (+60 percent as compared to 1977). The amounts withheld increased in 1981 and 1982, finally reaching 4,595,000,000 dinars in 1983 (+34 percent in comparison to 1982, probably due to retroactive wage adjustments). The sums actually collected differed slightly (tax administration figures).

1981	1982	1983
2842 (-12%)	3404	4693

In this connection, it must be stressed that not all the wage adjustments planned are carried out promptly, and some enterprises do not hesitate to retain the deductions made on the wages of their employees for their own financing. And this occurs despite the prospects of correction as well as substantial fines (+25 percent).

In 1967, the total tax income from oil barely exceeded direct taxes by 17 percent (880 million dinars as compared to 750), but by 1973 it was 3.5 times greater (4,114,000,000 dinars as compared to 1,626,000,000), and it continued to increase at an accelerated rate between 1977 and 1981, by which time it had reached the record figure of almost 51 billion dinars. But beginning in 1982, income from oil declined, and in 1983, when it was estimated at about 37.7 billion dinars, it amounted to only 3.5 times the direct tax total (10.7 billion dinars), again at the 1973 level. This is a trend which can only accelerate. Gradually, direct taxes will take over to cover the overall budgetary expenditures of the state (operations + equipment). To reconcile the two goals of profitability and fiscal justice, which are still too often contradictory, it might henceforth be necessary "to increase the ways and means made available to the external services" (inspection and income offices) of the tax administration.

Beyond the simple periodic reforms and reorganization of the ITS, it is in fact essential, if the resources of the state are to be increased and the

flagrant tax inequities among socioprofessional categories are to be reduced, to obtain a better understanding of the real tax base and to combat tax fraud and evasion.

"There has always been stinginess as to resources, above all in personnel and training. There is not enough awareness of the importance of taxation to the life of the state" (director general of taxes).

#### Tax Offices Examined

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 29 Nov-5 Dec 84 p 17

[Unsigned article: "Rescuing Tax Income From Poverty"]

[Text] A very dilapidated building. A black tunnel reeking of urine leads to a shaky wooden staircase patched with sections of board. On the fourth and top floor, a placard. We have reached the premises occupied by two tax inspectorates. Elsewhere, three other inspectorates, also occupying a deteriorating structure, are found at the same address.

The branch departments of the tax administration ("inspectorates," which establish, taxes and "income offices," which collect them) are in fact suffering from the same evils almost everywhere: dilapidated and tiny premises, inadequate sanitation and security provisions, a chronic manpower shortage (four, five or six individuals to handle thousands of files), inadequate furnishings, often predating independence, shortage of office equipment, heating, etc.

"There is no understanding of the fact that the relation between the state and the citizen is the most sensitive one, that which governs everything else. There is not enough awareness of the importance of taxation in the life of the state. There has always been stinginess as to resources, above all with regard to personnel and training. The Ministry of Finance has always administered its own austerity," a central department director says.

Inspectorates and income offices were recently split (one single income office covered all of the territory between the Casbah and Cheraga!), but they continue to coexist in the same premises without any supplementary personnel allocated (overall, barely one-third of the staff called for by the plan).

Work is done under regrettable conditions. Sometimes the personnel can hardly move. In El Biar, for example, where there are three inspectorates together, each one (with five to six agents) has only two rooms "into which everything has to be crowded." At the Casbah Center income office, "one has to fight for a chair in which to sit down," and the head of the bureau shares his office with two agents. The young Casbah inspector had to place a wedge under a cabinet to prevent it from sliding toward him. The ancient floor is sagging hopelessly under the weight of his metal desk. When it rains, the innumerable gutters produce a flood. "The documents have to be moved and covered." The broken windows have been replaced with sheets of plastic to

block out the breezes which exacerbate the condition of those with rheumatism, and even tuberculosis. "It is not surprising that the agents pop out into the corridor. It is in order to get warm," says an inspector. No heating system is provided for the branch offices. "We are the forgotten ones, it is no exaggeration to say." Always there is a sense and expression of profound injustice. Why are the offices which collect the most substantial portion of the state resources (which is going to increase, moreover, in order gradually to replace the declining oil income) so badly treated, while even the deficit public enterprises enjoy numerous advantages? In addition, an inspector says, "in comparison to the national companies, in view of the work we do, we are poorly paid. This is true for all of the departments. But we have much more work and it is much more difficult to do it."

Each citizen may be taxed on the basis of several schedules (BIC, ICR, VF, single tax, land tax, etc.) each of which has a specific period to be observed. And each office handles several thousand taxpayers. "Even when the taxpayer himself makes his declaration, he will make a claim," one inspector says, and another explains that "in order to pay out on all the declarations, accounting records must be requested." Now each little alteration requires a whole exchange of correspondence (shortage of printed forms, envelopes, broken typewriters).

"Some people do not even understand what taxation is. Others (tradesmen and those in the liberal professions, in particular) on the contrary, well aware of our weaknesses, use them to their own advantage," the inspectors complain.

The taxpayers are negligent. They do nothing until they are threatened with seizure or find their accounts blocked, one income tax collector says. "When they appear, which is always to make a claim, they always say they have paid their taxes." But the taxpayers alone cannot be blamed for everything. Every year the finance law makes new changes, in fact ("We are asked to report on things for which there are no records") without providing for the resources necessary to implement them.

"We are still having difficulty understanding one change, and here comes another." The schedules (ICR and land tax, in particular) change each year. And one must bear in mind the 4-year limit within which appeals are possible. There is no official compendium containing all of the applicable rates.

"Theoretically, the census is the basis for taxation," but the lack of trained personnel, and the mass of red tape to be untangled substantially limits the effective exercise of the authority of the inspectorates. Some also complain of a lack of cooperation from the other institutions involved (APC [People's Communal Assembly], National Police Force, Chamber of Commerce, etc.). And the inspectorates themselves are accused by the income offices of establishing taxes without thought of their eventual collection. Thus the tax statements for maritime fishermen were sent to the port, so that an agent had to be sent there especially to get them into the proper hands, the only way payment could be obtained.

"Despite everything, things progress, and it is possible to get the departments operating with respect for the established periods," the officials say,

while deploring the fact that so much sacrifice is required to do so. But how long will this continue, they wonder. A central office director says that "there are not many applications for the tax administration. People are leaving. None of the collection agents will stay. We are not succeeding in reestablishing an administration which could exercise its full authority."

The operation of the branch offices is in fact made possible by former agents long familiar with the work, who have copied and reestablished the documents burned by the OAS [Secret Army Organization], but who are now reaching retirement age. Or by agents recruited in the early years of independence who are also adherents of the concepts of public services and usefulness, despite their sense of being seriously abused and exploited. A graduate of the former tax methods school, now a tax inspector, after 18 years of service, earns only 3200 dinars per month. A collections supervisor who graduated when independence was won and has served in multiple posts since works from 7 in the morning to 7 in the evening, including Thursday ("I deal with all the mail. An income office does not merit a typist.") and Friday morning. "I have no car. I do not go out. We are given responsibility, and it must be met." His net wage, inclusive of family allocations (five children), comes to about 4850 dinars.

The job indemnity of a tax collector (700 dinars) has not changed since 1952, in addition to which it is now subject to the ITS. The cash fund allowance is established at 300 dinars per year. "We handle substantial sums, and the errors are often large. If there is a cash fund error (1,000 dinars, recently), I must cover it. Our whole indemnity system should be revised."

There is a general consensus on the need to resolve the problem of the social status of people in this sector, in order to guarantee renewal and stable personnel, among other things.

"Office agents are recruited from those with an average of fourth-year schooling, and they are sent to the branch offices without any training. In the tax administration, no one has his baccalaureate. We cannot attract those who have, it is impossible. A young person goes into the tax department when he does not know what else to do. He stays there 2 or 3 years to learn a little accounting, and then goes elsewhere to work. For the taxpayers, who have learned to appreciate their skills, in particular. And the fate of these shrewd turncoats who go to the companies and enterprises and the tradesmen they once taxed, where they earn 2 or 3 times as much as before, keeps up the hopes of the new recruits! But it is the officials who devote a good deal of the time to training this personnel with its constant turnover.

"The problem of training has been concealed for years. People are used where they are until they leave, and there is often a poor likelihood of replacing them," a central office director complains.

And yet training, from refresher courses for veteran employees to the initiation of the young, is a focus for all aspirations. "We would indeed like to have training and refresher sessions and seminars," an inspector says. All of this information should be programmed into a computer.



## UNTT WARNS GOVERNMENT IN COMMUNIQUE

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 14 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] We have received the following communique from the UNTT  
(Tunisian National Federation of Labor):

The executive bureau of the UNTT, meeting in special session on Tuesday 13 November 1984, after reviewing the overall labor situation, declares:

- 1) That despite the three official letters sent to the government, on 17 May, 17 August and 1 October 1984, calling for the opening of negotiations concerning the social situation in general and more particularly concerning a) the indexing of wages solely to prices which have affected the consumer index since last year; b) the situation with respect to businesses, including the agreements of principle concluded in 1983; and c) the principle of application of production standards in accordance with conditions previously negotiated between all the parties concerned.
- 2) The executive bureau notes with regret that, despite the reassuring official promises, no detailed negotiations have been opened to date.
- 3) The executive bureau believes that the UNTT, a valuable social partner, has the right to negotiate on all problems which have to do with the interests of the workers, and considers this situation of drift prejudicial to the unimpeded exercise of the rights organized labor.

In fact, at a time when the executive bureau was impatiently waiting for a date to be officially set for the opening of these negotiations, it was surprised to learn through the press that negotiations with the UGTT [Tunisian General Federation of Labor] have been under way for several days.

In the face of this unacceptable situation, the executive bureau raises its voice in protest against all policies based on partiality and declares solemnly that the UNTT will not consider itself or its affiliates bound by any social accord to which the UNTT is not a party.

The Secretary General  
Abdelaziz Bouraoui

## INFORMATION AGREEMENT WITH INDONESIA SIGNED

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 15 Nov 84 p 4

[Text] A Tunisian-Indonesian cooperation agreement in the field of information was signed yesterday morning by Mr Abderrazak Kefi, minister of information, and his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Harmoko, during a ceremony held at Ministry of Information headquarters. Attending the ceremony were information sector officials and the Indonesian ambassador to Tunis, Mr Sayed Abdulkader Mohamad Alaydrus.

Under the terms of the agreement, the two sides undertook to promote exchanges of visits by journalists and information officials of the two countries and to strengthen cooperation between AGENCE TUNIS-AFRIQUE-PRESSE (TAP) and the Indonesian Press Agency (ANTARA), through the facilities of the nonaligned countries' press agency pool and the Islamic press agency.

The two sides also agreed to increase exchanges of technicians and programs between RTT [Tunisian Radio and Television] and the Indonesian radio-television service. A bilateral cooperation accord will eventually be signed to this end. Exchanges will cover cultural and scientific programs, documentary films and musical recordings.

In his remarks, Mr Abderrazak Kefi expressed his gratitude to his Indonesian counterpart for having graciously accepted the invitation to visit Tunisia to acquaint himself with what the country has achieved and to hold discussions with governmental officials on appropriate ways and means of strengthening bilateral relations. He noted that the agreement just concluded by the two countries, which covers various fields in the information sector, should further strengthen the already close ties that have existed between the two fraternal peoples since the time many years ago when Presidents Bourguiba and Sukarno laid the foundations of the relationship.

The minister stressed the role played by information officials of the two countries in strengthening bilateral relations, promoting closer understanding between the two peoples, and contributing to the establishment of a new world information order. This will facilitate closer cooperation between the countries of the South, particularly in the economic domain, which is the cornerstone of relations between countries. He noted that Mr Mohamed Mzali, prime minister and minister of information, laid special emphasis on this point on Tuesday in his meeting with the Indonesian minister of information.

Mr Kefi added that "in our two countries we have put information into the service of development. Consequently, those of us who work in the information field are responsible for the success of agreements concluded in the economic, commercial and cultural fields. In reality, the signing of the agreements is less important than the resolve to see that the measures agreed upon are fully implemented."

Mr Harmoko, for his part, thanked Mr Kefi for the opportunity he and the other members of the Indonesian delegation have had to visit Tunisia, a country with a glorious history. He also said he was pleased to learn that President Bourguiba's health continues to improve, and wished the Supreme Combatant a quick recovery and long life, noting that the latter has set a shining example for Asian, nonaligned and Arab countries by his tireless work in the struggle for national liberation and by the great strides he has made for the benefit of his country.

After noting the progress made in achieving closer relations between Tunisia and Indonesia, particularly since the conclusion of the commercial cooperation agreement in 1983, as well as the exemplary cooperation shown by the two countries in the Nonaligned Movement and the UN, Mr Harmoko spoke of the importance of information in our era and the role it plays in bringing peoples closer together and establishing peace throughout the world.

In conclusion, the Indonesian minister paid homage to Tunisia for the efforts it has made since 1976 toward establishment of the new world information order which is needed to reduce the gap separating the industrial countries from the developing countries in the fields of information and communication.

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# HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE CALLS FOR IMPROVEMENT

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 17 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] Participants in the fifth meeting of the national council of the LTDH [Tunisian Human Rights League], which was held in Karouan on 11 November 1984, reviewed the status of freedoms and human rights in Tunisia and in the Arab fatherland as described in reports by the steering committee and the branch presidents.

After hearing the testimony of the relatives of one of the victims of the tragic events of January 1984, and the account of the mother of a student sentenced to 3 years of prison without hope of remission following school disturbances last February, the council debated the question of preparations for the second congress of the league, scheduled for 23-24 February 1985.

In a resolution adopted at the conclusion of the meeting, the LTDH opined that "despite the gains made in recent months (clemency for the youths sentenced to death in the Ariana and Melassine incidents, release of the leaders and militants of the MTI [Islamic Tendency Movement], agreement in principle for establishing a commission to study the reform of monitoring procedures), the status of freedom and human rights in the country continues to give rise to concern.

The resolution continues:

"The general amnesty law has still not seen the light of day, despite the evident fact that such a law is the only way to empty the prisons of political prisoners as well as reassure political exiles that they can safely return to the country.

"With regard to the achievement of political pluralism, the LTDH council notes with concern a dangerous return to the methods and demeanor of a single party, along with a clear hardening of the latter's position. The monopoly of power this party has exercised over the official media, as well as the lack of clear separation between the apparatus and institutions of the state and the structures of the PSD [Destourian Socialist Party], have thus been exacerbated. Also, the associations and parties that are officially recognized are subject to numerous exactions and provocations which have culminated in physical attacks against militants and attempted arson against their premises, while absolutely no effort is made to bring the perpetrators to justice."

The LTDH council also notes, in this connection, the seizure and suspension of newspapers, as well as the prohibition against union meetings at the workplace. The council also reviewed the aftermath of the January incidents, demanding "an investigation into the circumstances under which the security forces opened fire" and restating the demand for "promulgation of a law indemnifying the victims and their families."

The LTDH council thus demands "the release of the imprisoned students and calls for the young people who were expelled following the disturbances last year to be given the opportunity to re-enroll in the public institutions."

The national council also renews its demand, in accordance with the recommendations of the head of state, for the opening of an investigation into the practice of torture.

The national council supports the proposals of the steering committee of the LTDH concerning oversight, the regulation of rogatory commissions, and the necessity of monitoring the application of punishments by magistrates designated for this purpose.

The national council also insists on the necessity of continuing to make improvements in the material and moral conditions of detention, and applying the provisions of the "internal prison regulations," which, moreover, should be published officially.

The national council believes that "legitimate security concerns should not deprive citizens of their rights. It emphasizes the worldwide character of the struggle for human rights, which include more than just political demands alone. Going beyond the latter, the struggle for human rights involves the numerous aspects of the daily life of citizens. It also includes economic, social, labor and cultural rights, as well as women's rights, freedom of religion and conscience, and the struggle against all forms of racial discrimination."

The national council also notes an "increasing lack of consistency in the treatment of the league and its branches by the central authorities on the one hand, and by the local and regional authorities on the other." The national council thus demands:

a. A more consistent attitude by the authorities toward the league and its branches.

b. Greater access to public officials, particularly between the steering committee and the Ministry of the Interior, in order to contribute to the solution of the increasingly numerous urgent problems which citizens bring to the attention of the league.

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CULTURAL PACT WITH NORTH YEMEN SIGNED

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 21 Nov 84 p 4

[Text] Tunisian Culture Week, which began on 17 November in Sana, is continuing in the North Yemeni capital.

On Monday, in connection with the observances, Mr Abdelaziz Abdelghani, president of North Yemen's council of ministers, received Mr Bechir Ben Slama, the minister of cultural affairs. The meeting was also attended by Mr Ahmed Hassan Allaouzi, the Yemeni minister of information and culture.

The meeting covered relations between the two countries and ways to strengthen them.

Mr Abdelghani said that he was impressed by Tunisian Culture Week, which reflects the level of maturity reached by Tunisian culture. He also highlighted the importance of consolidating cooperation between the two fraternal peoples.

Mr Abdelghani also inquired about President Habib Bourguiba's medical condition, and sent the Supreme Combatant wishes for good health and happiness, so that he can continue to lead the Tunisian people toward further progress and prosperity.

He also asked Mr Ben Slama to transmit his sincere fraternal greetings to Mr Mohamed Mzali, the prime minister and minister of interior.

In addition, during the course of a ceremony chaired by Mr Ben Slama and Mr Allaouzi at the headquarters of the Ministry for Culture and Information, the two sides signed the Tunisian-Yemeni cultural cooperation agreement covering the next 3 years (1985-1987).

The document stipulates that the two countries will engage in exchanges in the fields of music, graphic arts, literature, the cinema, cultural affairs, archaeology and manuscripts.

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## PSD OFFICIAL ATTENDS ROMANIAN PARTY CONGRESS

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 21 Nov 84 p 4

[Text] On Monday Mr Abderrazak Kefi, member of the central committee of the Destourian Socialist Party [PSD] and minister of information, who is representing the PSD at the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [PCR], delivered to President Nicolae Ceausescu a message of friendship and good wishes to the congress from the Supreme Combatant, President Bourguiba, and the party's political bureau.

Mr Kefi arrived on Sunday in Bucharest, where he was greeted by Mrs Alexandrina Gainusa, vice-prime minister and member of the PCR executive committee; Mr Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of external affairs; Alexandru Ionescu, general manager of the press agency, AGERPRES, and Mokhtar Zannad, Tunisia's ambassador in Romania.

Along with the other distinguished guests seated on the stage, Mr Abderrazak Kefi listened to the presentation of the report on the activities of the PCR. Then he turned over to the head of state and secretary general of the PCR a message from the Supreme Combatant, President Bourguiba, and the PDS, containing greetings and heartfelt good wishes.

The message emphasized the high quality of the dialogue between the two countries, which have maintained diplomatic relations since 1963, and recalled the visits made by President Bourguiba to Romania in 1968 and by President Ceausescu to Tunisia in 1975, as well as the numerous meetings between high officials both at the governmental and party levels.

The document underlines the fact that Tunisia and Romania, in order to meet the needs and aspirations of both their peoples, have maintained exemplary and principled cooperative relations on the international scene, based on contacts and emulation.

It also said that relations between the two parties have steadily and peacefully expanded to encourage the affinities, similarities and friendship existing between the two peoples, despite the fact that they are rooted in different cultures, different civilizations and different socio-economic systems.

These relations, he said in his message, have developed harmoniously because they are inspired by the same high values and principles to which President Bourguiba and President Ceausescu are deeply attached: safeguarding national independence and the sovereignty of states as well as the right of all peoples to conduct their own internal and external affairs without interference.

"By their involvement in the outside world--which is demanded by the principle of solidarity and independence--our two countries are making their struggle for peace and justice a cornerstone of their activity and a goal as lofty as their ambitions," says the message, which also mentions, in that connection, the efforts the two countries are making in international arenas to achieve such noble objectives as the elimination of colonialism, disarmament and the triumph of the principle of nonalignment.

The message also asserts, however, that the peace toward which both countries aspire will continue to be threatened as long as there are any countries in the world still subject to foreign occupation and as long as there are people deprived of their basic freedoms. It reviews the situation in the Near East, where Israel continues to flout international law with impunity and persist in its intransigence and arrogance by sabotaging every peace initiative.

After pointing out that the extermination of Palestinian combatants, the establishment of settler colonies in the occupied territories, the annexation of Arab territories, and the aggression against Libya are all provocations and challenges to which the international community should put an end, the message asserts that Bourguiba's Tunisia, preaching the path of reason and wisdom, continues to appeal to the conscience of the world to impose a just solution to this conflict based on the principles of international law. That solution, which Romania also endorses, necessarily involves unequivocal recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization], their sole and legitimate representative.

The message also notes that Tunisia and Romania share the same concerns about the growing militarization of the Mediterranean, as well as the complex and dangerous situation that prevails in southern Africa, pointing out that the two parties consider that the restoration of peace in that region will require achievement of two major objectives: first, the independence of Namibia, and second the abolition of the pernicious system of apartheid.

The document also emphasizes the need for the real political will to undertake, without delay, concrete actions based on real international solidarity, to establish a new economic order, an order that is more balanced and fair.

After noting that relations between the two parties and two states have in recent years benefited from the fresh impetus provided by the conclusion of several accords in the commercial and cultural fields, the message expresses Tunisia's hope that economic ties with Romania will attain the excellent level already achieved in the political domain, so that both sides can profit from the cooperation.

Yesterday Mr Abderrazak Kefi listened to the debates at the congress and held talks with the other foreign guests. These talks dealt with consolidation of



ties of friendship and cooperation with the parties and movements represented by those delegations.

The Romanian officials and guests from friendly countries inquired about President Bourguiba's health and asked Mr Kefi to transmit to the head of state their wishes for a quick recovery and their expressions of high esteem and consideration.

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## RADICAL STEPS TAKEN TO REFORM STATE ENTERPRISES

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 22 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] Liquidation of COGELEC; Legal Action Against Those Responsible for the Company's Poor Management; Government Determined to End Inefficiency in Public Sector

On Tuesday at Government House Prime Minister Mzali chaired a series of interministerial committee meetings to consider the reports prepared by the commission on reform of the state enterprises. The meetings, attended by several ministers, staff personnel and officials in the departments and enterprises concerned, were part of the ongoing program to reform the state enterprises in accordance with the objectives of the Sixth Plan. This latest stage is a follow-up to the research and investigations conducted by the national reform commission on the prospects for various state enterprises and the commission's recommendations for the adoption of radical measures to secure definitive reform that would enable those enterprises to achieve financial stability and contribute more efficiently to the process of economic development.

The prime minister reviewed the report on the Tunisia Hotel and Tourist Company (SHTT) which was prepared following the decision of the interministerial committee at its 5 October 1984 meeting.

In that connection, the minister for tourism and handicrafts presented a report on the plight of that company, which is suffering from a deficit estimated at about 14 million dinars, despite the support provided to it in previous reform programs. In addition to the unsatisfactory financial situation, the company is facing technical problems, including the need to expand the lodging capacity of its hotels, to renovate them and to provide adequate equipment.

## Helping the SNCFT Continue its Activities

This situation requires the state to adopt practical measures, principally turning over some of the company's hotels, either partially or totally, into the hands of tourism promoters in the private sector. This could be done by means of accepting private participation or by divestiture with the stipulation that the new owner is legally committed to keep the permanent employees and to carry out expansion and maintenance programs needed to strengthen the competitive position of the hotels in question. The second interministerial committee discussed the activities and prospects of the Tunisian National

Railway Company (SNCF). Discussion focused on the report presented by the minister of transport and communications, which reviewed the financial condition of the company and the deficit it sustains for various technical and economic reasons. In that regard, the committee adopted a set of preliminary financial measures to help that company continue its activities on a satisfactory basis. It was also decided to go deeper into the company's operations, particularly with regard to an expansion of the company's services in order to respond to the country's economic and social needs, on the basis of the report by the commission on enterprise reform and proposals it will make on the subject.

### Defining Responsibilities

The third committee discussed a report on COGELEC [General Electric Company] presented by the minister of national economy. The report adumbrates the reasons for the company's economic and financial deterioration over the last few years. Among those reasons the document cites a surplus of skilled and unskilled personnel, escalation of management overhead as a result of wages, and declining production and productivity.

All these factors have led to a financial deficit which by 1984 had reached an estimated 2,845,000 dinars, or 22 times the company's capitalization. Such a situation obviously bespeaks poor management of the enterprise, which despite continuing support from its mother company, STEG [Tunisian Electric and Gas Company], has been unable to eliminate the ever-growing deficit. In the face of so many negative conditions and the impossibility of effectively remedying them, a preliminary decision in principle was made to liquidate COGELEC, in accordance with the applicable procedures of law and regulations now in force. The issue will be presented to the next meeting of the Council of Ministers for a final decision.

The emphasis during the meeting was on the government's determination to identify those responsible for both financial and administrative mismanagement within the company, in the knowledge that the authorities are already taking legal action against those who have committed such abuses.

This radical solution is a concrete response to President Bourguiba's desire to put an end to inefficient management in the public sector, which is a burden to the state and one that encourages waste of public funds.

The measure also reflects the resolve of government to struggle against the various manifestations of poor management and to take action against those responsible for the practice, because the continuation of the company's activities as well as maintenance of the company's employment level depend heavily on maintaining discipline and productivity within the unskilled labor force.

Then, with the governor-president of the council of the Tunis district in attendance, there followed a review of the program to rehabilitate the "little Sicily" area in Goulette and the Bab-Souika quarter, in accordance with President Bourguiba's instructions. The purpose of these instructions is to assist the most underprivileged and to protect them from the dangers posed by

old buildings lacking any sanitary facilities or the most elementary conveniences.

After reviewing a package of measures proposed by the minister of infrastructure and housing, it was decided to aid the inhabitants of the "little Sicily" ghetto acquire new lodgings at "Kram Al-Gharbi" while at the same time permitting them to enjoy the benefits of the Tunis governorate's "de-shantification" program.

It was also decided to begin the "little Sicily" rehabilitation project as soon as possible.

Then, with regard to the rehabilitation of the Bab-Souika quarter, there was a report on the social conditions of the residents of Oukala "Dziri", as well as other cases the prime minister observed during his inspection tour of improvement projects in that neighborhood.

Thus, in accordance with the directives of President Bourguiba and in response to the concerns of the citizens of the Bab-Souika quarter, it was decided to allow several citizens to benefit from new lodgings constructed by SNIT [Tunisian National Real Estate Company] in the Mnihla zone.

This step is yet another proof of President Bourguiba's solicitude for the disadvantaged and his constant concern to provide the opportunity for all citizens to have a decent life.

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# JUNBLATT CRITICIZES PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 17 Sep 84 p 7

[Interview with Lebanese Minister Walid Junblatt, by Bahij Abu Ghanim; date and place not specified]

[Text] Interviewing Walid Junblatt is no easy matter, be he a minister or not. This is not because he finds the press and newsmen "unpleasant," but because he has many tasks and interests, because he is quick moving, and because he is an unusual minister serving under unusual circumstances.

It gets to be even more difficult to interview him if the interview is non-political, while, since 1977, all his interviews have been political and have dealt with no subject other than politics, except very rarely and most of the time from a political premise.

Interviewing Minister Junblatt is enjoyable, because the interview is frank and direct. Many a minister pursues the course of looking for appropriate words that camouflage stances. However, he looks for words capable of making a viewpoint, while complete frankness is the dominant theme. Then, too, his expressions are alive, and he has his own expressions that occur to him spontaneously and effortlessly--and they combine humor and seriousness.

This nonpolitical interview by AL-NAHAR reflects perspicacity and broad knowledge. This is a vision based on a deep understanding of the factual condition of the Lebanese administration and of its composition, of its old and new aspects, and of its overt and covert features, just as if he had been following the details of this administration for a long time.

Furthermore, Minister Junblatt has his stands. Nor does he evade any questions. His answers are intensive, yet not abridged, and clear, yet not long. He also does not like to go into details, preferring to address fundamental issues.

The following are the questions and answers:

#### The General Administration

[Question] You began political and national action under the aegis of war. Furthermore, your ministerial responsibility is your first actual contact with the administration. Therefore, how do you view this administration on the whole?

[Answer] The premise from which the state tackles matters of general administration is basically erroneous. This is because there are public establishments in which wide jurisdictions have been vested that have endowed these establishments with a freedom of movement similar to the nature of private establishments. There are also other public administrations that have been subjected to all kinds of prior and subsequent supervision. Therefore, efficient personnel have moved away from these administrations, and they, have come to be regarded as "second class" administrations, just like some citizens in Lebanon. Therefore, there are "privileged councils"--and I mean the Development and Construction Board, the council of Sami Marun (the National Council for External Economic Relations) and the council of Ibrahim ash-Shuwayri (the Civil Service Council). There are also the other overwhelmed administrations, which are completely powerless.

However, the administration's diseases are chronic and cumulative, and they are characterized by the following symptoms:

1. An intensive, prejudiced centralization that is limiting in its decision-making at the peak of the administrative pyramid and, consequently, the political pyramid.
2. The administrative routine that has led to a lack of responsibility in a manner that has hindered and complicated work, and that has alienated efficient personnel.
3. The interconnection of jurisdictions and responsibilities within the same establishment, and among establishments concerned with the same affairs. This interconnection existed previously, and it is now very pronounced through the existence of the "privileged councils."
4. The existence of two kinds of legal stipulations--and both are bad. The reason is that these stipulations are very general, or "tailor made." They are "made to measure."
5. The lack of a spirit of initiative and creativity as the result of the administrative control that is exercised by the organs of prior supervision.
6. The abuse of the principle of civil servants' immunity and of its role in ridding the administration of political and party pressure.
7. The absence of a mentality of public service, the public cause, and national objectives--a mentality tending to motivate the administration and constitute its ethical control.

There can be no doubt that these symptoms have aggravated and spread as the result of the years of war and indiscipline.

[Question] What did these diseases cause?

[Answer] The diseases of the administration have definitely led to a brain drain. These diseases have divided the civil servants into two, not three, categories: One category avails itself of all the means for accruing wealth at the state's expense. This category is productive within this framework and, sometimes, when its private interests coincide with those of the public. The other category is futile, marginal, and complicated, and it complicates the progress of things. In most instances, this category would need a potential of intelligence and self-sufficiency available only to the first category.

Thus, we find out that civil servants are of two kinds: One kind is motivated by personal ends in most cases, and another kind that either hinders matters or that is immobile.

The "Privileged Councils"

[Question] In your conversation, you have mentioned "the privileged councils." In your opinions, these are at least three councils. Then, and for instance, what are your basic reproaches so far as the Development and Construction Board is concerned?

[Answer] The Development and Construction Board was originally established (1977) to replace the Ministry of General Planning that was established by the very same decree that founded the Development and Construction Board. This latter board constitutes the basic impulsive force for the activation of the administration's work and, consequently, of the development and construction workshop. I do understand that the Board should play the role of planning and that planners should wield wide powers. However, it is unacceptable and unjustifiable that the Board should turn into an implementation organ and should become a "workshop agent" that builds highways, sets up buildings, and performs all kinds of things in public administrations, only because the Board enjoys a freedom of movement that the other administrations lack, even at the level of the ministers. I now have before me a plan for the establishment of a committee that is likely to receive "the blessing" of the Development and Construction Board to activate the airport workshop.

If the Board's first formation endowed it with the nature of planning and consultative tasks, then its new structure has deprived the Board of its collegiality. Thus, every member of the Board has become responsible for a specific "sector" through which this member exercises custodianship over the administrations that are condemned to being in touch with him in view of the nature of their tasks.

Furthermore, word has reached me that the prominent members of the board include those who were appointed through the momentum of some former influential advisers, although these members had previously been referred to the disciplinary council, besides the fact that suspicion looms over some deals that these members patronize.

## The Economic Relations Council

[Question] And how about the National Council for External Economic Relations?

[Answer] If the Development and Construction Board has something to justify it, then I do not understand what is the *raison d'etre* of the Relations Council. It is an entity tearing at the carrion of the public administration.

This is because the Relations Council has sliced from the ministries of foreign and expatriates affairs, finance, economy, commerce, industry, petroleum, agriculture, public works, and national education jurisdictions that are of the very core of these ministries' tasks. However, when it comes to tourism, the Relations Council has completely swallowed and digested it. Hitherto, I have not had the opportunity to take cognizance of the spectacular achievements that this Council has made since its inception, despite the resplendent powers with which its chairman was personally vested. The exception is the clearing saga that has taken place with Egypt, because we gave Egypt apples and it lavished arms on us in return. Let us not also forget the progressive proposals that provides for returning to the use of coal as energy as part of our progress toward the Stone Age. However, when it comes to the achievements of subsidizing apples and citrus, well, we have known the subsidizer, but not the subsidized.

Over and above these things, I have before me a report that informs me that the Relations Council chairman exercises the prerogatives of determining expenses and liquidating them, and of disbursing and paying them. Throughout the history of the Lebanese administration, these prerogatives have never been combined in one person. Even the spirit of the law stipulates that different persons should exercise each of these powers in such a way that it would be possible to practice supervision and to avert errors and excesses.

However, and when it comes to the types of supervision that are practiced over the Relations Council, it seems that this Council is the most privileged since it is not subject, theoretically, to any prior supervision, and, practically, it is not subject to any subsequent supervision. This is because the authority slackened in issuing the stipulation that regulates the relationship of this Council with the supervisory organs.

The talk--about the Relations Council and about its control of the departments, as well as about the constitutional violations contained in its decree of establishment and in its decree of application--would be a long talk for which there is now no room. However, we will return to this issue on another occasion. I also have a clear-cut stance on the whole *raison d'etre* of this Council.



## The Civil Service Council

[Question] And the Civil Service Council?

[Answer] The Civil Service Council is basically an organ for impelling the administration and generating momentum for its progress, as well as for organizing the methods of work in this administration. Nor should the Council serve as a tool of extortion and pressure and of coercion of the employees and the public departments. Nor should the Council serve as a tool of extortion and pressure and of coercion of the employees and the public departments. Nor should the Council in particular be a means for domination of the ministers. Just by reading the recent employment law once, I was graced with provisions that empower the Civil Service Council to endorse all the things that regulate the status of the employees "on the recommendation of the minister...." It is even more surprising that the council chairman was personally given jurisdictions that he exercises outside the scope of the council. Frequently stipulations occur within the law that refer to decrees that are issued in accordance with "the recommendation of the chairman of the Civil Service Council and the proposal of the prime minister...." And this is nonsense itself. Domination of the powers of the ministers and the directors general has reached the extent that the mere compensation of additional work requires the approval of the Civil Service Council.

One of the domination provisions that have caught my attention is the text of Paragraph 5 of Article 31 of the Civil Servants Law, and I cite it just as an example, not an an enumeration:

"Following the approval of the Council chairman, the employees department shall have the right to approve bylaws or to reject them, wholly or partially. Whatever is approved by the department is regarded as having come into force, and what it rejects is to be returned to the department concerned, with the reasons necessitating the rejection having been pointed out. Before the end of November, the department concerned can forward new proposals or statements supporting its former proposals. The Civil Service Council shall then make a final decision on these proposals or statements and this shall be done before the end of December. If the council does not make a decision by this date, the proposals and statements shall come into force in the form in which they were received by the council."

This provision is but one of the provisions at which I have paused--and perhaps it is the least repulsive of these provisions. The implementation of this law by the Civil Service Council in the well known way has created among the civil servants a faction that--through its party and sectarian loyalties--owes absolute allegiance to the chairman of the Civil Service Council personally, as the result of his domination of the administration and of his imposition of his control on it.

Just as if this domination was insufficient, another domination dawned on us recently, wearing a new mask in the form of the "secret" committee composed of the chairman of the Civil Service Council and a former administrator close to

the prime minister to "cook" the appointments and present the ministers with a fait accompli. We are waiting for this thing to occur and we will know how to halt it.

I return to the Civil Service Council and I wonder: This council should supposedly convene as a council at its official premises and set the example for the rest of the public departments. Has it indeed convened as a council? And how? Or have the three members of the trinity been represented by the sole god, who is the council chairman?

[Question] Shall we take your words to mean that you stand opposed to supervision?

[Answer] When supervision is as it is now, that is, just a means of hindrance, no more, no less, then I am against it and against all prior supervision. Matters can never be rectified, except by insuring the following elements in the administration.

1. Insuring ethical and professional qualifications.
2. Freeing officials of all prior supervision.
3. Widening the consequent supervision and deepening it, as well as reckoning with the officials for the mistakes that they make.

Therefore, I stand for subsequent supervision that brings officials to task and punishes them, but I am not for prior supervision that hinders the officials, brings no one to task, and increases the number of unemployed.

#### The Public Work Ministry

[Question] The discussion on the public administration leads us to each of the two ministries which you are running, and we will begin with the Ministry of Public Works and Transport. What are the abodes of weakness that have appeared before you in this ministry?

[Answer] Let me ask you where the abodes of strength are in the whole public administration. This whole ministry constitutes abodes of weakness, because it is overloaded with administrative routine and with the difficulty of movement which accompanies all the public departments.

The General Directorate for Roads and Construction is afflicted with the complex of the Development and Construction Board on the one part, and with the complex of the Council for the implementation of Projects on the other. The General Directorate began handling the minor and marginal projects from which the Council for the Implementation of Projects, the Development and Construction Board, or even the municipalities "with no slur meant" remain aloof. Should we be destined to reorganize the ministry, this directorate will be called upon to assume tasks compatible with its raison d'être. Then all work for the construction of roads and buildings for the public departments will be confined to this directorate--and to nobody else.

[Question] And what will be the fate of the Council for the Implementation of Projects?

[Answer] The Council was merged with the Public Works Ministry under the legislative decree that stipulated in its article number 1--as I recall--that the minister of public works assume all the powers of the Council for the Implementation of Projects. However, what the council is now doing is assisting me in running the work and following up on the projects that the Council of Ministers had earlier assigned to the council. Within the context of reorganization, it will be imperative for the merger of this establishment with the ministry to be perpetuated, except if the ministry is reorganized the way we want and that, before everything else, would preclude making the ministry a department affiliated with a branch of the Development and Construction Board. My attitude toward the merging of the Council for the Implementation of Projects is contingent on limiting all the projects, to the Public Works Ministry that should supposedly assume these projects. However, I do not agree that we should cancel the Council for the Implementation of Projects to magnify the tasks of the Development and Construction Board.

#### Civil Aviation

[Question] How about the General Directorate of Civil Aviation?

[Answer] This directorate suffers from a grave crisis that reflects negatively on the progress of work at the airport. A legislative decree has been issued providing for the establishment of the Civil Airports Establishment. I approve the contents of this decree, save for some faults that were incorporated in the decree in the Council of Ministers. The most serious fault is placing the airport under the supervision of the Civil Service Council, or, in other words, paralyzing the work of this establishment.

However, when it comes to the problems of civil aviation, then these are numerous and deadlocked. These problems also need to be remedied immediately so that, at least, we can guarantee the safety of civil aviation and the safety of the airport. This is because there are equipment and fittings that must be procured with absolute speed, while the stipulations and laws in force preclude this procurement. Out of a spirit of responsibility, I frequently sidestep these inhibiting stipulations to insure the progress of work in this vital utility. And this is something to which I will not hesitate to resort wherever the public interest calls for it. The present state of affairs of the airport is very critical and we are supposed to move at full speed. This is because there are installations that must be completed, the first of which is the "fence" that precludes infiltration to the runways. Furthermore, there are fittings that we must insure by any means whatsoever for fear that, soon, the airport will become an unsafe airport.

[Question] What is precisely the decree on the airports establishment?

[Answer] It can be summarized in one sentence. The establishment is empowered to build civil airports and to equip, develop, exploit and administer them.

Therefore, the establishment assumes all the powers that regulate the status of airports "from a to z." The establishment puts an end to the conflict of jurisdictions and to the polarization that we now witness in the relationship among the organs that now operate at Beirut airport.

[Question] Therefore, the establishment takes the place of the Civil Aviation Directorate?

[Answer] No. The stipulation contains a reference to the existence of a directorate for civil aviation that exercises a kind of custodianship over the institutions through the minister, and it also handles matters connected with air agreements, the meteorological department, and other things.

[Question] But the agreements are now handled by the Council for External Relations in their capacity as being a part of trade exchange and external relations.

[Answer] May Sami Marun allow us not to permit him--in the absence of a clear stipulation on this subject, and it might be that the legislators have missed the opportunity to enable the council to slice off the jurisdictions of the Civil Aviation Directorate--to deal in any way with the negotiations that are the concern of the Civil Aviation Directorate.

[Question] Does the Airports Establishment play a role in the matter of security?

[Answer] Let me consult the law, because my memory might fail me. Article 52 of the legislative decree stipulates the following: "All the organs and individuals working at the airports are administratively subject to the authority of the Establishment, provided that the Establishment's authority ceases at the technical aspects with which every one of the other administrations represented at the airports continues--in accordance with these administrations' own laws and regulations."

And article 11 of the decree stipulates: "A company--to be called the Aviation Police--shall be established at the General Directorate of the Internal Security Forces. This company shall be affiliated with the chairman of the board of directors of the establishment. This company shall receive instructions directly from the chairman. The task of this company shall be to keep order and to report violations in implementation of chapter 5 of article 2 of this decree.

The organization of this police force, its number, the conditions for the appointment of its members, the sequence of their ranks, salaries, and compensation, and the method of their training shall be specified in accordance with the aviation regulations through a decree issued by the Council of Ministers in accordance with the proposals made by the two ministers of public works and transport and of the interior."

[Question] Why was it that the decree on the Airports Establishment was not implemented?

[Answer] Because the matter is connected with the appointment of the chairman of the board of directors and of its members, and because the decree needs to be amended to free it of the whimsy of the Civil Service Council. If we eliminate its defects, the decree on the Airports Establishment might be one of the few acceptable legislative decrees that are harmonious with the modern organization of administration.

[Question] What has happened to the plan for the development of the airport?

[Answer] The development plan is fumbling in view of the dispute entrenched between the committee on the development of the airport and the contractor. Each of the two sides holds viewpoints that are worthy of consideration. I categorically reject all that had previously been decided in this matter with regard to transfer of all the airport development work to the Development and Construction Board. This is because the Board has nothing to do with executive jobs, such as the development of the airport--and these are matters that should ultimately be handled by the Ministry of Public Works. Nor am I prepared to concede my jurisdictions in this domain. The maximum that I might accept in order to set this workshop in motion is for a committee to be formed under the chairmanship of the public works minister and on which the Development and Construction Board is represented, and its jurisdictions will be similar to those of the Development and Construction Board in such a way that the committee will be able to surmount all the accumulated difficulties and obstacles, for which there can be no quick solutions under the regulations that govern the Public Works Ministry departments.

#### Organization and the Environment

[Question] What is your assessment of the role of the General Directorate for Civil Organization and its work?

[Answer] The assessment is that the Civil Organization should indeed assume the tasks of civil organization, in lieu of distracting itself with peripheral issues, that is, with the issuance of building licenses. The officials in this directorate strive for ridding themselves of the atmosphere of license issuing and changing the classification of areas and the elements of exploitation in the building laws. However, there is a basic concern that should stay with the Civil Organization Directorate, that is, the concern for safeguarding the environment and Lebanon's beauty. I fear lest Lebanon should lose its distinctive rural face. This is because what I see daily with my own eyes--and in ash-Shuf itself and in the rest of the nationalist areas--arouses my anger. I do not accept that villages such as Kafr Him, B'aqlin, and Baq'ata should turn into residential agglomerations similar to the suburb. If, to preserve Lebanon's face, it is inescapable for us to choose between our heritage and what is mistakenly called civilization, and I call it Modernité in French to distinguish it from Civilization, then I would welcome reaction and heritage. I will not agree that quarries and dynamite should deface our most scenic natural beauty spots. And I am being told that such a defacement is occurring in areas that I have not visited for some time--and this increases my despair and regret.

On the other hand, the concerns of civil organization cannot, and should not, be confined to the environment. This is because there are housing and real estate concerns that must be addressed within the context of a progressive and integrated housing policy in such a way that civil organization legislations would pour into the mainstream of serving this policy. This policy requires large-scale intervention by the state--whether directly or indirectly.

[Question] Let us talk about the General Transport Directorate.

[Answer] This directorate is a strange creature; I do not know where its jurisdictions begin and where they end. It is surprising--and although its name is the General Transport Directorate--that I see it concerning itself with maritime public property, but without taking interest in transport, whose organization is up to the Interior Ministry. At this point, it is imperative for the organization of the ministry--which we are discussing--to come about so that this matter can be remedied at the root and in a manner far removed from nervousness and "clinging" to jurisdictions.

[Question] And the joint transport?

[Answer] It is an independent authority with a board of directors that determines its regulations. With regard to this authority, I exercise only custodianship over it. However, it seems--and as its responsible officials are stating--that the authority seriously wants to modernize its service lines and potentials.

In this respect, I can only say a requiem for the days of the "trolley buses." The present buses, let alone the fact that they have not resolved the problems of transporting the people and the traffic problems, have become the most favored structure for military bunkers. However, and when it comes to the buses that are expected to arrive, these are still in their country of manufacture and the authority is still taking time before importing them out of fear that they will suffer the fate of the previous buses.

At any rate, and within the context of the ministry's reorganization, it is imperative for the other land and sea activities to turn into public establishments similar to the Civil Airports Establishment. Then, the General Transport Directorate will have a *raison d'être*, and it will assist the minister in exercising his custodianship over the various competent public establishments concerned with the affairs of sea, land or air transport.

#### The Harbors

[Question] Therefore, you deem it fit to set up a Harbors Public Establishment?

[Answer] The matter will not be limited to just the harbors. Should we successfully implement the reorganization plan, and if this plan is not aborted during any of the phases of its approval, it will become necessary to set up a Public Establishment for Maritime Transportation to which will be assigned all

the affairs of maritime transport--including the building of various kinds of seaports, as well as equipping, developing, administering and exploiting these ports.

Foremost among the tasks that this establishment is supposed to perform ranks control of the chaotic conditions prevailing in the harbors, particularly in Beirut harbor. The establishment should also undertake all the activities related to the work of harbors, such as the unloading and loading of freighters, providing pilot services for ships, and extending transport services in a way that would eliminate the "goldmines" of the hegemony that arose in the harbors in general since 1975, and in Beirut harbor in particular.

[Question] Do you have a plan of priorities for the ministry's projects?

[Answer] Do not talk to me about plans. We have hammered out enough plans, but without implementing them. Let us first concern ourselves with repairing what has been damaged, and let us implement the plans that were on their way to achievement--and I am ready to be contented with this much. The reason is that the plans for the organization of the Greater Beirut area--which the ministry is implementing in conjunction with the French Government--constitute a plan in themselves. The road reasphalting projects are also something that I deem sufficient, without preoccupying ourselves with the building of new roads and the widening of other roads at the expense of the beauty of the villages and of nature.

It is important for us to set priorities for the necessary first aid services that would remove the traces of destruction and the black years of the war.

[Question] The contractors have problems with the ministry.

[Answer] They have come and seen me and it transpired that they have demands on which I had previously made decisions. These demands include: the rewriting of the book of terms on general rules, and the rewriting of the book of terms itself, as well as the reclassification of the contractors--which has not been done for 20 years or, in other words, since the time at which a man called Kamal Junblatt was in charge of this ministry.

However, the sums due to the contractors are the concern of the Ministry of Finance. The delay occurred at the time when it was impossible to reach the Ministry of Finance. However, I believe that there is now no problem.

#### The Organization

[Question] You have frequently referred to the organization of the Ministry of Public Works. Will you brief us on the outlines of this organization?

[Answer] A discussion of the ministry's reorganization, without mentioning the reorganization of the whole general administration, is a heresy to which I am not prepared to resort. Is it permissible for us to repair a part of the human body, while leaving the other parts diseased? Therefore, first and foremost,

it is imperative for us to lift the nightmare of the Civil Service Council from the administration, and to lift the blackmail that the other supervisory organs might exercise.

An employee must know that he is responsible for his actions, and that he is even more responsible for not doing his work. Therefore, we should lift off the employee's shoulders the pretext of negativism behind which he hides. However, with regard to the structure of the Ministry of Public Works, I have many options open to me. These include the limiting of every field of work to one department and, consequently, allocating a general directorate for every basic task assigned to the Public Works Department. Then, we would create a general directorate each for roads, buildings, civil organization and transport, in addition to the three public transport establishments that we have previously mentioned.

There is another option that provides for the tasks to be distributed and, consequently, for various directorates to be created in accordance with the phases of work. Then, we would create a general directorate for studies, a general directorate for supervision, and a general directorate for implementation, on the understanding that the Civil Organization Department and the Transport Department will remain unchanged.

#### The Tourism Aide Memoire

[Question] About the Ministry of Tourism, in your statements, you have frequently reiterated that the National Council for External Economic Relations has usurped all this ministry's jurisdictions. Therefore, what is your stand on this subject and which course will be pursued?

[Answer] I have already answered a part of this question. I repeat and say that it is inadmissible that the Ministry of Tourism should be for the classification of restaurants and furnished apartments. The forsaking of the existence of the National Council for the Development of Tourism has made this ministry just a name for a nameless thing. I deem it necessary that there should be in the ministry--in addition to the General Directorate for Tourist Affairs and the General Directorate for Archeological Sites--an organ that works full time to develop tourism and to show Lebanon's real tourism face abroad. Nor do I believe that Sami Marun's ingenuity can possibly carry out this action. What I fear most is that Lebanon will be afflicted, in addition to the things with which it has been afflicted and which have marred its face, with the distortion of its heritage and of its tourism face by the mask with which Sami Marun might veil Lebanon's face--a mask with which Lebanon has nothing to do. The enticements to which some persons are subjected cannot affect me. Let Sami Marun and those who are behind him know that my attitude can never be the object of bargaining, neither by means of appointments nor by means of settlements, whatever these might be. Let them also know that it is inevitable to return all the jurisdictions that are basically assigned to the Ministry of Tourism and, consequently, to the National Council for the Development of Tourism.



[Question] And what can you do within the context of tourism?

[Answer] Please relieve me from answering this question. About which tourists shall we talk? And can tourism exist without tourists?

#### The Ministerial Conclave

[Question] A final question: You are on the threshold of a ministerial conclave. Will the legislative decrees figure as one of the conclave's subjects?

[Answer] The subject of the legislative decrees ranks foremost among the other subjects and it is the thing which mostly perpetuates, and in black letters, the hegemony from which we suffer. This is because these decrees are a set of laws that include the funny and the strange. Out of the total of 611 decrees, there are, undoubtedly, no less than 40 decrees, that contain the most important things, and that fall outside the jurisdictions that the Chamber of Deputies had granted the government. In the eyes of legal experts, these laws are nonexistence. Consequently, their legal nonexistences should be acknowledged, that is, they should be abrogated. I am not the only one to make this demand, but all those who still uphold the law join me in making it. Even more surprising than the decrees were those humiliating consultations that had preceded the formulation of these decrees, while they were being issued by the competent quarters.

Foremost among the 40 decrees--and we hope we will observe their 40th day of mourning--is decree number 8 stipulating establishment of the National Council for External Economic Relations. We are embarking on a detailed study of the amendment of the rest of the decrees, once those that I have noted are abrogated.

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## NATIONWIDE CONSTRUCTION REVIVAL SINCE JUNE REPORTED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 18 Sep 84 p 7

[Text] The cessation of the military operations following the formation of the present cabinet, and the army's return to the contact lines in the capital, have afforded some opportunity for the revival of the building sector. Therefore, the ratio of building licenses granted in the 2 months of June and July constitutes 58.98 percent of the total of the licenses granted from the beginning of the year to the end of July. In the above noted 2 months, the areas licensed for building totalled 744,035 square meters, that is, a ratio of 62.0 percent of the areas on which building was licensed during the 7 months.

With the exception of al-Shamal province, the total of the building licenses granted between January and July amounted to 1,943 licenses in accordance with the statistics of the Architects Union, covering an area of 1,198,503 square meters. This area constitutes only 17 percent of the areas licensed for building during the whole of 1983 and totalling 7,083,196 square meters. Going by the mode of growth this year, estimates point to the likelihood that the areas licensed for building will, until the end of 1984, rise to 50 percent of the areas licensed in 1983, if the security situation remains even relatively stable.

The factors affecting the building sector this current year do not differ from the factors influencing other sectors, foremost the security state of affairs.

In Beirut, the areas licensed for building totalled 42,030 square meters, that is, 4 percent of the total areas, while Beirut's share last year was 26 percent. This recession is attributed to the fact that, between February and May, it was impossible to implement any construction project in the capital under the blanket of the shells that were reaching all the areas of Beirut and in an almost continuous manner, to the extent that the process of restoring security to the city did not permit its share to be more than 2 percent in June and 3 percent in July.

In Jabal Lubnan, the areas licensed for building totalled 845,516 square meters, that is, a rate of 71 percent of the total, as compared to a rate of 59 percent last year. The fact that al-Jabal Province alone obtained three quarters of the areas licensed for building does not signify that the construction movement was rife in all its districts, particularly in al-Shuf,

'Alayh, and B'abda, bearing in mind that 68.1 percent of these areas was licensed in the 2 months of June and July. The enormity of the construction projects in Beirut and on the coast precludes activity from spreading on equal footing to the other areas.

In Southern Lebanon, the areas licensed for building totalled 230,820 square meters, that is, a proportion of 19 percent of the total, in contrast to 11 percent last year. The ratio of areas licensed for building in June and July amounted to 38.7 percent, nearly running parallel to the monthly average, while taking into consideration the increasing demand for building licenses during the winter season.

In al-Biq'a', the rate of the areas licensed for building in June and July totalled 70.0 percent of the total of the areas licensed in the 7 months of this year and amounting to 80,137 square meters.

This unforeseen increase in the above noted 2 months cannot be explained other than by saying that military pressure surrounded al-Biq'a' during the events of Beirut and the mountain, particularly because of the communications route in it and rumors about an Israeli-Syrian war to be fought on the territory of al-Biq'a' prior to the Israeli elections. The alleviation of this pressure fostered the activation of the building movement in such a way that the areas licensed for building in al-Biq'a' formed 7 percent of the total, as compared to 3 percent last year. This increase in shares occurred at the expense of the decrease in these shares in Beirut.

In comparison with the areas licensed for building last year, it became necessary for the areas licensed for building between January and the end of July to represent 50 percent of the total of the 1983 areas. However, the imbalance that was caused by the war in the suburb and its accompanying events was even stronger than the imbalance caused by the war on the mountain last year. This is because during the 7 months, the ratio of the areas licensed for building in Beirut totalled 2.28 percent of the 1983 areas, which is the lowest among the provinces, followed by the areas in Jabal Lubnan that amounted to 20.06 percent of last year's areas, followed by Southern Lebanon with 28.44 percent and al-Biq'a' with 36.05 percent. However, the total of the areas licensed in the four provinces represented only 16.92 percent of the 1983 areas.

It is impossible in this respect to disregard the fact that the commercial banks ceased granting loans in general, and loans to the building sector in particular, especially for the construction of dwellings--a thing which has led to a recession in the activity of the building sector until the beginning of the second half of the current year.

The recession in the building sector has also led to a decrease in the production of black cement and in its sales in Lebanon. This is because, during the 7 months, the total sales amounted to 825,000 tons, as compared to 1.74 million tons in 1983, including 413,000 tons sold by the Lebanese Cement Company, that is, representing 37.5 percent of its sales in 1983 (1.1 million tons), and 237,000 tons sold by the National Cement Company, that is,

representing 45.5 percent of its 1983 sales (520,000 tons). Meanwhile, imported cement sales increased and amounted to 175,000 tons during the 7 months, as compared to 120,000 tons last year, marking an increase of 45.8 percent.

A relative improvement was observed in cement sales in the 2 months of June and July, when these sales increased by 25 percent in return for some decrease in the sale of imported cement. Estimates show that 1,000 tons is imported daily, including 700 to 800 tons from a Cypriot source via the south, and 250 to 300 tons from a Syrian source through Northern Lebanon.

#### Building Material Price Hike

The prices of metallic materials, such as rolled iron, pipes, and taps have risen tangibly this year, particularly during the past 12 months (July 1983-July 1984). The price of rolled iron recorded an increase of 40 percent, including 17 percent since January 1984. This increase is due to the increase in the prices of imported raw materials that was coupled with a drop in the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound.

"Cast" pipes also saw a price increase of 21 percent since July 1983, and of 10 percent since last January.

The prices of locally manufactured (Qasarjian) pipes for sanitary ware and water retained their prices between 1980 and 1983. Should the increase that befell them during the past year (21 percent) be divided among 3 years, the total yearly increase rate amounts to 7 percent.

However, the prices of nonferrous mineral extracts: Cement, concrete blocks, and sand witnessed a variable drop that ranged from 5 percent for concrete blocks to 20 percent for sand.

Recently, the price of black concrete dropped by about 20 Lebanese pounds per ton, particularly so far as big consumers are concerned. In other words, this figure represents a price decrease of 6 percent.

#### Construction Costs

A study conducted by the Building Materials Industrialists Union shows that the cost of building a popular housing building consisting of four floors and a basement and consisting of 18 residential apartments with a total area of 3,620 square meters--including 880 meters of basement area;; 2,300 meters of apartment area; and 440 meters of window area--amounts, at July prices, to 4,071,937 Lebanese pounds, thus averaging 1,023 pounds per square meter, while taking into account the weighting ratio in the construction expense per each segment. The reason is that it has transpired that the average building cost per meter of basement is 763 pounds, and 1,241 Lebanese pounds per meter of overground floor. However, the general average of the cost per each square meter resulting from the division of the total cost of 4,071,937 by the total area of 3,620 square meters becomes 1,125 Lebanese pounds, and the cost of an

apartment (a residence) becomes 188,930 Lebanese pounds, while its area--including window space, is 125 square meters, at a time when a sub-ground floor costs 671,205 Lebanese pounds.

# NATIONWIDE CONSTRUCTION REVIVAL SINCE JUNE REPORTED

Province	June	July	January- July 84	Ratio % of Total	1983 Total	Ratio % of Total	7-Month Ratio With 83%
Bayrut	7,433	15,099	43,030	4	1,835,753	26	2.28
Jabal Lubnan	236,517	339,471	845,516	71	4,213,789	59	20.06
al-Janub	45,509	43,871	230,820	19	811,394	11	28.44
al-Biqa'	15,749	40,386	80,137	7	222,260	3	36.05
Total	305,208	438,827	1,198,503	100	7,083,196	100	16.92
Number of Licenses	510	636	1943	-	-	-	-

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

INTERVIEW WITH NEW PNC SPEAKER

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1467, 14 Dec 84 pp 38-41

[Interview with al-Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sa'ih, new speaker of the PNC by 'Afaf Zayn: "Al-Sa'ih Calls for a Dialogue among Muslims, Jews and Christians; 'We Are on Syria's Side, and Syria Is on Ours; I Will Be Concentrating now on Bringing Palestinians Closer Together';" in Amman; date not specified]

[Text] The election of al-Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sa'ih speaker of the Palestine National Council [PNC] cannot be regarded as simply the replacement of the previous speaker, Mr Khalid al-Fahum, who stayed away from the recent session of the PNC held in Amman. In fact, some observers believe that the fact that al-Shaykh al-Sa'ih has been appointed to this position has numerous implications and that the most important of these are two.

On the one hand, the man is regarded as a national figure whose prestige in the occupied land is historical and moral. Because of his religious position he has extensive relations with prominent Palestinians living under the occupation and with anti-Zionist Jews as well. He can thus articulate the opinions of broad sectors of the population. Al-Shaykh al-Sa'ih has become well-known for his candor. In addition to his new position, he can take part in talks that would be part of any process to bring Arabs and Jews closer together.

On the other hand, al-Shaykh al-Sa'ih has won the respect of all who are involved in Palestinian politics because he has been involved in the struggle for a long time and because he has stayed away from factionalism and partisanship. Therefore, he will play an important role in bringing Palestinians closer together. That process will have priority in the period that will follow the 17th session of the PNC.

AL-HAWADITH interviewed al-Shaykh al-Sa'ih in Amman and asked him about all these issues. The interview [follows].

[Question] Many people are wondering how you managed to avoid taking sides with one Palestinian faction and not another. It is known that in the view of Palestinian leaders the next phase will require the assistance of nationalists whose ability to function has not been impaired by the conflicts.

[Answer] A total commitment to be loyal to Palestine helps one avoid the

dilemma of becoming subordinate and loyal to one group and not another. It is known that all the Palestinian people have dedicated themselves to their cause.

Despite my absolute loyalty, I've had my own view on the matter that I did not use to endorse any one faction. Nevertheless, when the recent movement within Fatah was declared under the slogan of reform, I said at the time that the reform which these people were calling for was a proper and an equitable demand. As in other organizations that have a large number of leaders and staff, it was inevitable that questions and doubts would be raised by the rank and file when the PLO was thwarted by an outside factor such as Israel's invasion of Lebanon. What matters to us is that there be no doubts, accusations and suspicions about the organization.

When the dissidents' movement within Fatah turned away from its first slogan of accountability and reform and damaged the organization's unity and independence, I opposed it and its proposals. This is because I see such successive, divisive postures as undermining both the revolution and its credibility. I did that out of the responsibility I feel for my cause. I stayed in touch with the factions--and I still am in touch with them--before I was elected speaker of the PNC. I was delighted with the proclamation of the Aden-Algerian Agreement, and I regarded it as the beginning of Palestinian accord.

[Question] Some observers believe that under the present circumstances your holding the position of speaker of the PNC is an undesirable outcome of your non-alignment which induced the organization to bestow this trust on you. What do you say to that?

[Answer] The meetings of the current session of the PNC were preceded by postponements, procrastination and delays. It made Palestinian citizens wonder about what might come up next, particularly after the Aden-Algeria Agreement was reached. The thought had never crossed my mind that I would agree to assume responsibility for a council that would lay the foundation for division and separation and consequently be at odds with my desire not to take sides with one faction against another. At the 10th session of the council in Tunisia, which was attended by nationalist figures representing Palestinian communities in all the Arab countries and in North and South America, I was assigned the task of chairing that congress which looked into two important matters: the need to convene the PNC and the place and date of convening it. During all the deliberations and discussions that took place, I did not find a single citizen who objected to the idea of convening the PNC wherever circumstances and current given factors required it.

When I yield to the opinion of the majority and to a broad sector of Palestinian citizens, I do not become aligned with and loyal to one party and not another. Quite the contrary, assuming that responsibility and yielding to the people's wishes underscore my extreme concern that I do not become aligned with any one faction.

[Question] Many people believe that the Tunisia meeting that you mentioned did not include everyone since all the factions of the Resistance were not represented. Accordingly, the recommendations that were issued by that meeting do not represent the opinion of the majority of factions. They do not represent the opinion of the Democratic Alliance particularly.

[Answer] The Democratic Alliance was invited to come to Tunisia. Its representatives wanted to come, but for many reasons that we do not wish to go into now, they were unable to come. Their point of view was conveyed to us by Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Haj Ahmad. He read it to those who were present at the meeting among whom was a large number of Fatah leaders. In the drafting committee that I chaired, I brought in people who expressed the opinions of the Democratic Alliance. I also tried to broaden the geographic representation of Palestinians in Arab and foreign countries.

There was a consensus about the need to convene the council, but opinions about deciding on a place and a date for the meetings differed. I was personally inclined to go along with a statement to convene the council as soon as possible so the committee and the leaders could be given an opportunity to make contacts and end the conflicts.

My appeal provoked a violent reaction among those who were present. They feared that the outcome and the resolutions of the Tunisia meeting would be like those of the Aden-Algeria meeting. They feared that the council would not be convened. These fears induced Abu 'Ammar to concede to the wishes of the majority and set a date and a place for the meeting. I adhered to the opinion of getting together with those present at the meeting to formulate a statement. I also tried to stress national unity. How then can it be said that the Tunisia meeting was not unified because not all factions of the Resistance were represented in it?

Faced with this resolution to convene the council in Amman, I had two choices: to go to the meeting or to stay away. I was also asked to serve as speaker of that council.

[Question] It's been said that you agreed to serve as speaker of the PNC on the condition that no Arab or Palestinian be discredited or impugned. You also said that you would be willing to go to Damascus if that became a matter of national necessity.

[Answer] I have said and I am saying that I will not preside over a council that will lay the foundations of separation and division. As an old man, I have accepted that responsibility because, as I said, I did not become involved in the conflicts. We are betting on the future where such conflicts do not have a chance because they are marginal and ephemeral.

I do not deny that Syria did play a role in the battle for liberation; the positions of the Syrian people are well-known. But I am willing to talk with anyone and to go anywhere. Others have their own points of view, and their history in the struggle is well-known. Why then don't we listen to them?

I will go anywhere to serve the cause of Palestine. Syria is not anywhere; it is an Arab country that has played an influential role in the battle for liberation.

[Question] You said before that convening the PNC in Amman was politically and nationally significant and that it was these implications that induced you to accept this responsibility. What are these implications?



[Answer] We all know that the United States and Israel have been trying to hamper the role of the PLO. The process of postponement and procrastination serves that purpose. I thought that the national implication of convening the council in Amman would be the help the organization would get in affirming its legitimacy on the international scene, particularly since that legitimacy seems to have been forgotten because of the recent Palestinian conflict.

That is why I accepted the responsibility: simply because I was aware of that implication. The condition that I set in return was that no objections be made to Mr Khalid al-Fahum, the former speaker of the PNC. Although we do find fault with him, we cannot forget what our brothers in other organizations did in the course of the struggle. Their presence with us is quite reassuring to our fellow Palestinians in the occupied land. The fact that these fellow citizens did not come does not mean that they wanted to break relations with us. Nor does the present conflict with Syria mean that Syria is out of the battlefield.

[Question] The council's resolutions have been realistic, and they have been marked by a desire to talk with all parties. At the same time the Democratic Alliance has stated that it would adhere to the legitimate organization. These given facts lead one to believe that a possible reconciliation will be likely when dialogue with that alliance is broadened and resumed. What is the plan of action that you will follow in the next stage to conform with the realistic course of the council and the given factors of the present situation?

[Answer] One of the priorities of the political statement that was issued by the present session of our council is to safeguard national unity. What was mentioned in the statement and in the political report about Syria is clear and unambiguous. We admit that Syria is a power and that it is indispensable to us because it is one of the bases for the Palestinian struggle. We are on Syria's side and we serve it, and Syria is on our side and it serves us. This will be one of the significant factors that will enable us to outline our plan of action. The first thing we plan to do before taking any political action is to soothe people's feelings. We do try to maintain a semblance of civility with the enemies; how then would we not be friendly with our brothers and our loved ones?

[Question] It has been learned that you are making preparations for an extended tour in the Arab countries to smooth relations between Arabs and Palestinians and devise a conciliatory effort between the organization and Damascus.

[Answer] I will give primary attention to the question of bringing Palestinians closer together. In the second stage I will devote my attention to the question of bringing the Arabs closer together so that all obstacles to an Arab summit meeting can be removed. It is my opinion that Palestinian unity will be an influential factor in bringing about this inter-Arab rapprochement.

[Question] The final communique of the PNC talked about the need to escalate the armed struggle in the occupied land even though Palestinian combat forces are scattered and far away from the confrontation lines. Since the resolutions of the council have been characterized by realism, will Palestinian leaders take note of this fact and focus on the principle of political struggle and set the armed struggle aside?

[Answer] It is self-evident that a political struggle and a military struggle go hand in hand. Using weapons to raise issues is desirable.

[Question] The Palestinian cause has gone beyond the stage of being an issue that has to be raised and identified internationally. How will the PNC's recommendations for escalating the armed struggle be put into effect when Israel's invasion of Lebanon has blocked the last confrontation lines with Israel?

[Answer] We will not be able to bring all our forces together, nor will we be able to bring them out safely if our fellow Arabs do not understand the danger of what is awaiting them and if they do not understand that keeping those forces far away from confrontation lines is dangerous to us and to them as well. It seems to me that these matters can be resolved with trust, candor and unequivocal positions. The time has come to direct all Arab capabilities toward the enemy's fronts.

[Question] The organization's appeal for respect for the independence of Palestinian political decisions is inconsistent with what you are saying about linking the actions of your armed forces with current Arab conditions. There is a contradiction between the appeal for independent political decisions and the desire to coordinate actions that pertain to military decisions to use Arab land to launch a confrontation with the enemy.

[Answer] The Palestinian cause has a Palestinian appearance, but its substance is Arab. It is primarily up to the Arabs to make a decision about confronting the enemy. All these matters are looked into at Arab summit conferences. If that becomes impossible, they would be looked into at an Arab-Palestinian summit.

[Question] Do you believe that present conditions would allow for such conferences to be held?

[Answer] If there is no Arab consensus on a realistic assessment of the enemy's ambitious designs, then talking about assembling the troops becomes extremely embarrassing. Our dealings with any Arab country are not based on formal agreements. We do not dread talking with any party whose sincerity has been confirmed to us. Nor do we disdain or fear listening to any party, even if that party were Jewish. We would not refuse to shake hands with any Jew provided that Jew is not a Zionist trying to do away with my civilization and my culture.

[Question] Do you believe there are Jews who are not Zionists?

[Answer] A devout Jew knows the meaning of humanity and the meaning of divine law. The messenger of God, peace be with him, met with the Jews and talked with them. When he came to al-Madinah, he gave them a pledge that to this day is considered one of the greatest pledges and international covenants. The orthodox caliphs gave pledges and covenants to the people they came in contact with.

The Prophet, may peace be upon him, was standing when a funeral passed by. He was told that the funeral was that of a Jewish man, and the messenger said, "Is his not a soul?"

We do not assume inflexible postures toward people because of what they believe. What is required in all cases is dialogue.

[Question] Political extremism is rising noticeably among the devout in Israel, and in the mean time you are calling for a dialogue with devout Jews!

[Answer] Jewish communities whose faith is proper are not extremist at all. We believe in the Torah, but Zionism is a racist, political movement. We welcome the possibility of holding a meeting and conducting a dialogue that would be based on Islamic, Jewish and Christian principles. Our coexistence with Jews and Christians before 1948 was a splendid model.

[Question] Who among the Israeli Jews will respond to your appeal for a dialogue? What will be the bases and objectives of such a meeting?

[Answer] There is a Jewish sect, the Natorey Qarta, which means the land of the Torah [sic]. This is a non-Zionist, Jewish group that condemns Israel's racist practices. I met with them in Jerusalem after the 1967 setback, and I spoke with a group of their leaders. This group of non-Arab Jews consists of highly educated and highly aware individuals. At the time, after Israel occupied the West Bank and Jerusalem, they told me, "We believe that you are rightfully entitled to this land and not those Jews who came here from Europe, America and Russia. You are the ones who have the authority to give us permission to stay."

Those Jews understand the facts of history, and we are willing to talk with them on scientific and realistic bases so we can coexist with them in peace and security within secure boundaries.

[Question] The actions of the Israeli government are based on the premise that it has a divine right to acquire the land and to establish its sovereignty on it. Advocates of peace and coexistence have no influence on Israeli politics, which is based on "a promise" that restricted land ownership to the children of Israel.

[Answer] If we were to assume that the scriptures which are carried by the Jews are authentic and free of arrogations and addenda, we would find that they state unequivocally that God told Ibrahim, "I give you and your offspring this land." Ibrahim's offspring are his sons Isma'il and Ishaq. Ibrahim's [sic] offspring are the Arabs, and Ishaq is the ancestor of the Jews. The Torah that the Jews believe in prevents them from claiming that they are the only ones who have a right to Palestine.

[Question] Do you believe that such simple logic is a suitable basis for the dialogue you wish to have with the Israelis?

[Answer] The Israelis' claims are based on this divine promise. They say that God gave them this land. Why shouldn't we use this logic in talking with them?

If God did in fact give this land to Ibrahim, He divided it fairly between Ibrahim's two sons. Isma'il and Ishaq are brothers.

But if the Israelis want to talk with us on a modern, scientific and secular basis, then we and they--and I mean Palestinian Jews--will have the right to live on this land, not the Jews of the diaspora who are carrying out Zionist and imperialist plans.

We do not deny citizenship rights to Jews who were in Palestine before 1948. They have many duties. If we can bring together a group of rational, enlightened Jews, we will welcome them and our talks with them will be based on the holy verse, "We cannot both be right: either you or we are in evident error" [Saba': 24]. This principle of dialogue has been unparalleled, even in the 20th century.

[Question] What do you think about Rabbi Kahana and the extremist militant religious groups around him?

[Answer] Kahana is not a native Palestinian Jew. His extremism is a western phenomenon that even the Israeli government rejects. It is my opinion that Kahana and those who represent him constitute a major threat to Israelis. Their threat to Israelis is greater than their threat to the Arabs in the occupied land.

Israel's historic dream of living in peace with its neighboring countries within secure boundaries has been shattered by Kahana's extremism which does away with all the sacrifices that Israel has made in human life and property to achieve this dream.

I tell Israelis that there can be no peace with racism, malice and hatred. The only future lies in dialogue and coexistence. As soon as I find a devout sect of Jews who can discuss the matter on a scientific basis, we will tell them, "Let's get together and agree to talk. Let's hear your arguments; these are ours. Whoever has the more compelling arguments wins the case."

[Question] Your appeal for an Islamic-Jewish-Christian dialogue has a special implication because you are the speaker of the PNC. Will you formalize this appeal and write it up in a working paper that you would present to the other party?

[Answer] I believe in what I said and in what I have called for, whether I am an ordinary Palestinian citizen or the chairman of the legitimate Palestinian organization.

[Question] Do you believe that a broad sector of Palestinian citizens support your appeal?

[Answer] Dialogue is a fundamental principle in our legitimate organization. As I said previously we have no complexes. We do not act like ostriches in dealing with matters. Israel is an existing state, and it is legitimate to be concerned about sects that can coexist with each other and respect the supremacy [of one]. We are calling for a dialogue via your magazine. Let anyone who is willing to take part in such a dialogue come forward; we are ready to do anything that would serve our cause.

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CSO: 4404/113

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### PLIGHT OF PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON EXAMINED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 87, 14 Dec 84 pp 70-72

[Article: "Palestinians in Lebanon: between the Isolation of Defeat and Survival in Fear; Palestinians Brought Together by Disaster, Separated by UNRWA"]

[Text] Financial assistance to one quarter of a million  
Palestinians in Lebanese camps discontinued.

Camp residents fear unemployment and new massacres.

The social situation in Lebanon has become one of those pressing matters that thrust themselves on events in a way that places them in the foremost position on the scale of priorities in the effort to search for solutions to the crisis in Lebanon.

Although these problems vary in their magnitude and breadth from one group in Lebanese society to another, they are all problems of the same kind to Palestinian camp residents. After the departure of the Palestinian Resistance from Lebanon in the summer of 1982, the vacuum created in the camps by that departure became evident. Unemployment was accentuated, and the assistance that used to be provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA] before Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982 dried up. That threatened to create a very grave social situation which warned of the worst consequences in Lebanon in the near future.

AL-TADAMUN toured some of the camps in Beirut, and it conducted a comprehensive survey of the deteriorating social situation under which camp residents have been living.

"We don't feel safe here at all, and we don't have hope for the future." That was what Najah Kasih said even before we asked her. "No one who leaves the camp can be sure that he will be able to return to it. The market is the only place we can go to; there all our needs are available, but of course prices are very high, especially with the men not working. In addition, the aid that used to come from UNRWA has recently been suspended.

"Before that the Lebanese Red Cross used to offer us some assistance. The

Italian unit, which is a member of the multi-national forces, also offered us assistance. Through its office in Shatila, we could get medical examinations but no medication. There were many times when we would take medical prescriptions but would be unable to purchase the medicine. Sometimes, we had to share the medicine. I can tolerate pain, for example, but can a child tolerate it? These are the facts about our lives. It is humiliating to complain to anyone but God."

Buthaynah al-Nabulsi complained about the anxiety and fear that have become constant features of the lives of camp residents. She complained of interruptions in water and electricity services, which are available rather intermittently and not continuously. "We have had no water for quite some time. We buy essential foods from the market. If some of these foods are not available, we make do with what is available whether it is expensive or not. The same thing applies to the health situation. Anyone who gets ill and does not have the money to pay for the medication dies, and no one gives him a second thought. We go to Gaza Hospital, but we ultimately tear up the prescriptions because we don't have the money to pay for medication."

Samir Kamal said, "Living conditions in the camps are very difficult compared with what they were when the Palestinian Resistance was here. There was a lot of work; there was more prosperity; and that prosperity was spread among more people. It was enough that our lives were secure. Now, we live in constant fear of massacres, and we are afraid of being killed and subjected to surprise raids."

Samirah al-Asfar complained of the very unfortunate conditions in the camps where citizens are gripped by fear and terror. "Conditions become more unsettled when the security situation becomes tense, particularly when the camps come under artillery or rocket attack." As Samirah said, medical services are provided for Palestinians at Gaza Hospital, but no medication is provided to them. "The Italians used to help us in this regard, but no one has been helping us since their departure."

She added, "The UNRWA does not guarantee us anything. At the present time there is a shortage in UNRWA, as officials in that organization have been stating. If one of us gets ill and needs surgery, he is referred to a private hospital where new interns learn by operating on him."

A Lebanese citizen from the western al-Biqa' who is called Muhammad Mubarak lives in Shatila. He is the father of three children, and he earns his living by selling fruit juice. He explained living conditions in the camp by saying, "Living conditions in the camp are not comfortable at all. At the present time, for example, there are no lemons at all. One cannot get them at any price. And I am using lemons here as a random example."

Mr Mubarak denied that any kind of assistance was being offered to camp residents. He said that health care was provided only in the least expensive hospitals and doctors' offices where care is given in accordance with the ability to pay, of course."

Firyal Khalid Sa'd said, "We trust in God and we rely only on ourselves to ensure our livelihood. When security conditions become unsettled, all business

in the country comes to a stop. Consequently, it becomes very difficult for us to obtain the food we need as well as other essentials of living.

"We have had no water and electricity for a long time. No kind of assistance is being offered to camp residents, especially in Beirut, after the emergency program that had previously been adopted by UNRWA was suspended. This agency still provides refugees with free, albeit minimal, education."

The chairman of the people's committee in the camp which takes care of the people's affairs and problems preferred not to give his name to AL-TADAMUN, but he did say, "Camp residents are very nervous. They are afraid of being killed and massacred in incidents such as those which occurred in Sabra and Shatila during the Israeli invasion. UNRWA provided residents of this and other camps with a health center and a physician to treat patients on a daily basis. It also has a center for feeding children from 5 to 10 years old and another for children from 10 to 15 years old. In addition, it offers other social services such as assistance to some widows and orphans. That assistance comes in the form of flour and food."

These conditions under which camp residents in Beirut and particularly south Lebanon are living are confirmed by Tawfiq Nur-al-Din who says, "No one has any sense of our suffering unless he comes to the camps and sees what is actually there and what is actually happening. Talking about conditions in Palestinian camps under these circumstances is a trying task. Words fall short of giving an adequate description. First of all there is the fear factor: the fear that what happened during and after the Israeli invasion will happen again. The second fact is that of disappointment and despair. Camp residents feel that many people who were supposed to be on their side in Lebanon and in Arab countries forgot about them and ignored the bitter experiences they were going through. The third factor in the plight of camp residents is the weakness of Palestinians in the camps and even their inability to demand their minimal rights such as water, electricity and food."

Zayn Sayqali, information officer in the UNRWA office in Lebanon, gave a clearer picture of the dimensions of the Palestinians' plight. "After the Israeli invasion it was necessary to implement an expanded social care program because of the need that existed among migrant refugees, especially those families where support from the male head of the household had been lost because the husband had died, was arrested or had to flee because of existing unsettled security conditions. A serious problem emerged with the shortage of employment opportunities for strong and able adult men and women. Employment opportunities that were made available by Palestinian organizations and factions before the Israeli invasion ceased to exist because the basic structure of the PLO in Beirut and south Lebanon collapsed during that invasion."

"At the present time also retirement pensions and other social security benefits that were previously provided by the PLO are no longer available to Palestinians in Lebanon. In emergency situations, such as wars, the agency becomes more interested in providing emergency services such as shelters and camps. It also provides so-called emergency operations which include offering food and new housing to the refugees."

Sayqali affirmed that no one can do what the agency has been doing. "The agency has been providing free elementary education to close to 35,000 Palestinian children. The agency also provides medical services in all areas, particularly to children, nursing mothers and pregnant women. There are other priorities such as rebuilding those buildings that were torn down during the invasion or rebuilding the homes in the camps. There are funds now that are earmarked for a reconstruction program. The agency is trying to utilize those funds to employ Palestinians who can work in rebuilding their homes, particularly in south Lebanon.

Numerous incidents have occurred in Palestinian camps, especially in Tyre. Committees in those camps have protested the suspension of food assistance which should have stopped in September 1982. To provide the necessary funds, we turned to the emergency program funds which amounted to 490 million dollars in contributions. In 12 months we spent 60 million dollars. At the same time we spent 50 million dollars for our regular program in Lebanon above and beyond what we spent for the emergency program, and that caused a deficit in the regular budget of about 70,000 dollars.

Palestinians Registered as Extreme Hardship Cases by UNRWA until 3/31/1984 (in Lebanon)

<u>Social Status</u>	<u>Individuals</u>	<u>Families</u>	<u>Allotments</u>
Widows	4,749	1,025	4,706
Orphans	438	122	433
The Elderly	6,774	2,828	6,729
The Handicapped	1,505	251	1,486
The Ill	4,079	551	4,027
Prisoners	7,866	1,257	7,759
Military Services	-----	-----	-----
Education	61	10	60
Others	123	15	123
Total	25,595	6,059	25,323

Palestinians Registered on UNRWA Lists in Lebanon until 3/31/1984

Beirut and Mount Lebanon	88,733 Palestinian refugees
Sidon and its environs	59,978 refugees
Tyre and its environs	63,483 refugees
North Lebanon	32,587 refugees
Al-Biq'a'	10,234 refugees

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# PRESIDENTIAL PALACE HIT; DEFENSE MINISTER REPLACED

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 5 Dec 84 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI (Dispatches)—Anti-Marxist Mujahideen in Afghanistan launched two rocket strikes on the capital of Kabul in the last week of November, hitting the grounds of the presidential palace and narrowly missing the Intercontinental Hotel, western diplomatic reported rocket and mortar fire against Kabul a week earlier.

The diplomats, quoting reports from Kabul, said the Soviet Embassy there recently built new blockades to keep cars from speeding onto its compound.

Planes now regularly rise in a corkscrew pattern over Kabul after take-off to avoid flying above villages where rebels hide with heat-seeking missiles.

In other news, the envoys said the Communist Party's Religious Affairs Department had recently removed about 20 Moslem Ulama from mosques in and around Kabul for 'sectarianism', which they understood to be anti-government preaching.

The diplomats reported heavy Soviet bombardment of the western city of Herat on November 22, which was supposed to have caused heavy damage and high civilian casualties, but had no further information.

Another report says Afghanistan's Defense Minister General Abdul Qadir has been reassigned to a lower post, radio Kabul said Monday.

The Pushtu-language newscast, monitored here, said Qadir, who was considered the number two man in the Soviet-backed regime of President Babrak Karmal, had been given the rather ineffective post of first deputy chairman of the Revolutionary Council Assembly.

The broadcast also said Lt. Gen. Nazar Mohammed, who was chief of the military staff, had been appointed the new defense minister to replace Qadir.

It gives no reason why Qadir was removed from the key post, but Western diplomats in Kabul had said both

the Soviets and Karmal were not very pleased over the conduct of war against the Islamic insurgents in Afghanistan.

The widespread Islamic insurgency forced Moscow to raise the level of Soviet troops from 110,000 to 140,000 in early October.

Qadir, one of the first Afghan military officers who was trained in the Soviet Union, led the April 27, 1978 coup which toppled the administration of then Afghan President Sardar Mohammed Daud.

Daud and his entire family were killed. Communist Party leader Nour Mohammad Tarraki was then installed as the new president of Afghanistan.

Tarraki was in turn assassinated by his Deputy Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin, who ruled Afghanistan until late Dec. 1979. The Soviets executed Amin and installed Karmal as the new president.

The Soviets also sent 85,000 troops into Afghanistan that month to strengthen the Karmal regime and destroy insurgency.

CSO: 4600/160

## AFGHANISTAN

### BRIEFS

**KHAD MEMBERS CAPTURED**—In an attack on a residential area, Afghan fighters captured a number of members of the government of Afghanistan's spy organization, known as Khad; they captured eight members of this organization in the Kuteh Sangi area of Kabul. According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, an armed clash between the Mojahedin and members of the ruling party lasted for hours. According to reliable reports arriving from Kabul, the Mojahedin have disclosed that in the last two weeks almost 300 ordinary citizens have been killed by semi-heavy weapons fire from Russian forces in a heavily populated, poor area in old Kabul for the crime of sheltering the Mojahedin. Three days after this occurred the smell of burning bodies was still in the air. Afghan propaganda instruments, especially radio and television, said that it was the Mojahedin who committed this savage act, and reported the number of casualties at five persons. In order that evidence not remain from this criminal act, the Afghan regime gathered up the spent shells and duds at the site of the clash. It will be remembered that in the year 1385 [As published - 21 March 2006-20 March 2007] the (Tereki) regime killed tens of defenseless civilians in a similar operation in the Chondavol area of old Kabul for the crime of cooperating with the Mojahedin, who were called insurgents and counterrevolutionaries. The Mojahedin added: The government of Afghanistan's anxiety over attacks from Muslim guerrillas increases every day, and for this reason government control over the daily lives of the people has increased. In order for people to travel from Kabul to other provinces, they must obtain a special permit from the Afghan Ministry of the Interior. Two airplanes and a helicopter were destroyed at Kabul airport in an attack by the Muslim Mojahedin. On its 6:30 news program, RADIO DUBAYY said in Arabic: In a clash with the Russian occupiers and the mercenary forces of Karmal's regime, the Afghan Muslim Mojahedin recently killed seven aggressor Russian soldiers and five government troops, and wounded 12 others. In this engagement, which lasted five hours, one of the Mojahedin was wounded. A report from Islamabad says that the Afghan Muslim Mojahedin recently detonated and destroyed two Russian airplanes and a government helicopter at Kabul's Jalalabad airport. [Text] [Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 13 Nov 84 p 16] 9310

**AFGHAN UNITY SEMINAR--MASHHAD, Dec. 9 (IRNA)**--A seminar to study the means for further uniting the Islamic movement in Afghanistan was opened here Saturday with the participation of a number of officials of the Islamic parties of Afghanistan, as well as Iranian officials from Khorasan Province. During the session, also attended by a number of Shi'a and Sunni Afghan Mujahideen, the deputy commander of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps for northeastern Iran, said that the enemies of Islam were trying to sow discord among Shi'a and Sunni Muslims. He called on the Muslim Afghan brothers to unite further. Two Afghan participants were the next speakers who discussed the solidarity of Muslims and the struggle of Muslim Afghan Mujahideen. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 10 Dec 84 p 2]

ARMY DEFECTIONS-Zahedan-KEYHAN correspondent-An Afghan soldier who escaped from the Firgheh army base in Kabul in the month of Azar of the current year [23 Oct - 21 Nov 1984] and came to Zahedan has revealed that merciless slaughtering and bombing of the cities and villages of Afghanistan by the Soviet occupying forces has created a wave of aversion and revulsion among the suffering Muslim people of Afghanistan on the one hand, and that on the other hand the defections of Afghan officers and non-commissioned officers has increased, so that 80 percent of the soldiers, most of them with military equipment, have fled bases and military centers, despite all the obstacles that exist, and joined the revolutionaries. The Afghan soldier also said: Terror and fear have increased so much in the Afghan army that even old soldiers who have served in the Afghan army at 4,000 Afghans per month for four years have now begun to flee and join the Mojahedin. This has caused the Soviet occupying forces to bring tens of thousands of reinforcements into the country on the one hand, who are actually replacements for many soldiers and non-commissioned officers, and on the other hand to take over the actual command of most military centers, and no one, not even high-ranking Afghan officers, has the right to protest. He added: The Soviet aggressors are distrustful of all Afghans, even the members of the Khalq Party and the supporters of the Parcham Party; they have no confidence in any of their members. On the other hand, conflicts continue between members of the Khalq and Parcham parties, and have recently reached a peak. The Afghan soldier also disclosed: The perimeters of the military bases, including the one where I was, have been mined to prevent desertion; the number of personnel on these bases, including Soviet occupying troops and Afghans, is no more than 1,300 persons, and the orders of Russian commanders are translated for the troops by an interpreter. [Text] [Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 18 Nov 84 p 21] 9310

CSO: 4640/155

## WORK ON BANGLADESH BORDER FENCE TO RESUME SOON

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Nov 84 p 9

[Text] Gauhati, November 11--Work on the erection of a barbed-wire fence along the 3,400-km-long border between India and Bangladesh would be resumed shortly, according to official sources here.

The construction of the fence to prevent infiltration of Bangladesh nationals into India was taken up on an experimental basis near Ramraikuti in the Assam sector in May this year but had to be abandoned following heavy firing by men of the Bangladesh rifles on the construction party. The work could not be resumed all these months because of heavy rain and floods in the area.

The need for constructing the barricade has arisen because of the unabated influx of migrants from across the borders, notwithstanding the protestations to the contrary of the Bangladesh President, Lt-Gen Ershad.

According to official sources here, over 300 infiltrators from Bangladesh were apprehended in the Assam sector alone during the first nine months of this year. All of them were, however, promptly sent back to Bangladesh.

Last year, as many as 24,000 infiltrators were apprehended in the bordering states of north-eastern India.

According to official estimates, the construction of the border fence will cost approximately Rs 600 crores. Each kilometre of the fence would require nearly ten tonnes of steel and 43 tonnes of cement and the total requirement may be 30,000 tonnes steel and 150,000 tonnes of cement.

While the proposed fence will by no means be absolutely impregnable, it will take a lot more than a little grip and a pair of wire-nippers to break through the cordon.

The massive scheme, drafted by a committee of experts from the Union home ministry, the BSE, the Border Roads Organisation, the army and the Central PWD, envisages a three-tier structure. The outermost layer will be the strongest, made of the thickest and tightly-knit wire, 2.6 metres high and with a goose-neck to make it more difficult for people to jump over.

The tip of the goose-neck will coincide with the borderline. The two successive layers will be 1.2 metre away and 1.5 metre high. To make the cordon even stronger, the gaps between the three layers will be filled with strong, one metre high rolls of thick barbed wire, called concertina in military parlance.

The 30-foot belt adjoining the third layer will be covered with thick, thorny variety of cactus bushes. However, the fence will not follow a uniform configuration all along. In regions prone to waterlogging and flooding, there will be only one layer of fencing.

In areas that remain under ten feet of flood water, the height of the fence would be as much as 16 to 17 feet, while in areas notorious for heavy infiltration, like the west Dinajpur district of West Bengal, a tall masonry wall is likely to be erected.

#### Raised Road

The last layer of this obstacle will be an eight-foot-wide raised road, which will facilitate patrolling by the BSF. Once the road is constructed, each BSF border outpost will be provided with a jeep for effective patrolling.

Roughly, over 2,000 km of the proposed fence will fall in West Bengal, nearly 200 km in Assam, about 400 km in Maghalaya, some 600 km in Tripura and the rest in Mizoram.

The Centre has asked the Assam government through a Presidential instruction to amend its Land Acquisition Act of 1964 to empower itself to acquire land for building a fence and a road.

In view of the violent reaction of Bangladesh to the construction of the fence, a proposal was mooted to erect the barricade 150 metres inside Indian territory. This, however, has been strongly opposed by the governor of Assam and Meghalaya, Mr Bhishma Narain Singh, and the general officer commanding, eastern command, Lt-Gen K. Chiman Singh, and has been evidently shelved.

CSO: 4600/1175

## COMMUNIST PAPER: DANGERS LOOM LARGE AFTER ASSASSINATION

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 12 Nov 84 p 1

[Editorial by R.K. Mishra]

[Text]

**I**ndira Gandhi's ashes have been scattered over the Himalayas. The 12-day state mourning is over. But dangers still loom large over the horizon and the country has entered the most critical phase of her post-independence existence. The nature of the threats facing us needs to be understood in all its ramifications. Without such a comprehension, we will not be able to gear ourselves as a nation to overcome them.

Indira Gandhi's assassination was not an isolated event. The country has seen it as a manifestation of imperialist conspiracy. Of course, there are a few who deliberately underestimate the gravity of the danger. They are trying to lull people's vigilance as if we are back to normalcy. It is now clear that the objective of the conspiracy was to plunge India into chaos. Organised violence which rocked the Capital and other towns in the wake of the stunning tragedy was a part of the same plan. But some other parts of the plan did not materialise. The conspiracy was based on the assumption that Mrs Gandhi's removal from the scene would be followed by an unseemly scramble for power within the Congress(I), a weak authority would emerge at the Centre, the administration would be paralysed and the political system would crumble. This has not happened. India has pulled itself up quickly. Political transition has taken place smoothly. The ruling party has maintained its unity and acted in the national inter-

est. Left parties have refused to join the rightwing attempt to raise controversy over the choice of the new Prime Minister. Though the shock was traumatic, the administration has swung into action to meet the challenges. Even in the midst of fury and frenzy, common people have maintained their cool and enough proof is available that Hindus in large numbers saved Sikhs from criminals and anti-social elements. The strength of secular bonds between the two communities has been demonstrated convincingly. By and large, the political system has risen to the occasion. Though it has been a hair's-breadth escape, India has escaped chaos. To that extent, the conspiracy has not fully succeeded. This being so, the new phase of the conspiracy will be put into operation soon. All those who want to foil the anti-India conspiracy must ask themselves: what would imperialism like to happen in India? An objective and sincere answer to this question will provide the touchstone to judge whether a particular action or policy will help the enemy's game or contribute towards mobilisation of masses against it?

The primary task at present is to safeguard India's unity, its anti-imperialist position and its secular democratic polity. Every action contrary to these goals is objectively helpful to the imperialist game.

In the present circumstances, the unity of the Congress(I) party is the essential prerequisite to preserve the coherence of the political system which is the foundation of national

unity. In normal times, it would be permissible politicking for anti-Congress(I) parties to encourage a schism within the ruling party and try to benefit from it. But these are not normal times. Only those who are interested in creating a vacuum or instability at the Centre would deliberately try to work for disrupting the Congress party by fuelling individual ambitions or spreading confusion. The game has already begun and it is, therefore, easy to identify who is prepared to sacrifice national interests for petty political gains and who is not. The two Communist Parties have already earned considerable goodwill by refusing to be drawn in the mischievous controversy raised by Mr Charan Singh and Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee. But this was only the first move by reaction to subserve imperialist game. Further moves have to be thwarted with equal clarity.

Tragic as it is, the present situation calls for a massive mobilisation on an anti-imperialist platform. The fact that this upsurge follows the assassination of Prime Minister and leader of the ruling party should not deter us from throwing all our energies in this mobilisation. This is what the reactionaries and imperialists do not want. They would like to sabotage the possibility of the emergence of such a broad platform by pitting one contingent of anti-imperialist forces against another. They will like the left to remain in a position of confrontation with the Congress(I), because in the present contest these two streams together can constitute the basis of

the broadest anti-imperialist mobilisation and education of the masses. Only the shortsighted will attribute anti-imperialist characteristics to blatantly rightwing and reactionary parties and 'leaders'. To do so will be an act of self-deception, if not worse. It should not be beyond the ingenuity of all genuinely anti-imperialist forces to evolve a political approach which would not give to reactionaries an opportunity to take advantage of the differences which are bound to exist between parties which represent the interests of different classes. But at this moment those differences are secondary and defeating the imperialist conspiracy is primary.

It is necessary to keep the democratic processes functioning because the system derives its legitimacy from it. Peace all over the country is an essential pre-requisite to ensure this and here is another area of constructive cooperation amongst all patriotic forces.

Across the border, the situation is alarming. The terrorists are getting succour and support and opportunities are being given to them to regroup their forces. Inflammatory propaganda is in full swing. There is no room to lower our guard.

All in all, there is no room for complacency. The danger continues to be grave. At stake is existence of India as a united nation — state. Imperialism has declared a war on it. A period of historic cooperation between all anti-imperialist forces is the need of the hour.

CSO: 4600/1178

## ANALYST SAYS RAJIV 'STYLE' BEST ASSET

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 11--After scattering the ashes of his illustrious mother on the eternal snows of the Himalayas covering many hallowed places like Gangotri, Badrinath, Kedarnath and Amarnath in the high mountains, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, plunged into official work today even before the formal conclusion of the 12-day State mourning to clear the backlog of policy matters awaiting his decision.

He called some Cabinet colleagues to discuss among other things issues like fixation of sugarcane prices and the proposed export of foodgrains, besides the availability of essential commodities in fair-price shops and grant of concessional loans for the repair and rehabilitation of factories damaged in communal violence.

#### New Style

The new style of functioning that Mr Rajiv Gandhi has already introduced reflects his extreme impatience with avoidable delays and reluctance to take quicker decisions. He has made known to some of his colleagues his extreme disappointment with the way they functioned during the communal holocaust in Delhi that followed Indira Gandhi's assassination.

His young age and relative inexperience are his best assets at present, in the sense that the people have been fully supporting the ad hoc decisions he has taken to set things right in the capital in the wake of the terrible carnage. After many heads have rolled in the higher police establishment, the bureaucracy too has been responding enthusiastically to his manner of short-circuiting labyrinthine procedures to get work done especially in matters relating to the rehabilitation of the victims of the communal violence.

At the party level also he has not been permitting anybody to take liberties with him, or use his name for interfering with the work of the Government. The Congress (I) politics in the States are no longer being stage-managed by influential operations as they did before without his prior clearance.



The extra-constitutional elements in his entourage are still wielding considerable influence even if they are not openly throwing their weight around or making others look up to them for advice. The next two or three weeks will indicate what the new Prime Minister is going to do to curb such unhealthy practices which created a lot of problems in the past.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi conferred with the functionaries of the ruling Congress (I) this evening to prepare for the working committee meeting tomorrow, when a new party President will be elected and the broad strategy determined for the Parliamentary elections. The very talk that he might drop a large number of sitting members and select new ones to give the party a better image is having a deeply unsettling effect leading to considerable nervousness in Congress (I) circles.

Those close to Mr Rajiv Gandhi have been hinting that at least half of the present Congress (I) members of the Lok Sabha numbering nearly 360 might be denied party ticket. If it is true, then he has to find as many as 360 new faces, in addition to the remaining 180 sitting members, to contest the 540 seats.

It is not easy to pick and choose so many new candidates who can be considered to be competent, honest and capable of winning without expecting Mr Rajiv Gandhi to do the entire campaigning for them. The tentative lists of prospective candidates already drawn up and screened under his overall supervision will no doubt enable him to choose new faces for at least half the seats, but it is still an open question whether he would take the risk of ignoring the claims of so many sitting members without running the risk of serious discontent within the party on the eve of the elections.

#### Dilemma

But Mr Rajiv Gandhi is apparently caught on the horns of a big dilemma, since the general public will be greatly disappointed if he fielded the same old faces with tarnished reputations while the vested interests within the party would feel badly let down if he dropped them. Any attempt to steer a middle course would not necessarily enable him to have the best of the two choices, since he might have to contend with the possibility of disappointing the new aspirants and also offending the old-timers who were loyal to Indira Gandhi in the past.

It will be known only after he announces the election date how Mr Rajiv Gandhi is going to tackle this problem. In her time Mrs Gandhi also faced similar situations, but in the end she decided to play safe by retaining many of the old hands if only because they were adept in the art of manipulative politics for winning elections.

The Congress (I) strategists on Mr Rajiv Gandhi's staff who have been working on the party's campaign tactics are planning to flood the country with lakhs and lakhs posters containing Mrs Gandhi's portrait along with some of her vibrant exhortations to the people. The main campaign theme of the party is going to be--let him complete her unfinished task brutally cut short by her assassination.

CSO: 4600/1177

## FORMER MINISTER RESIGNS FROM CONGRESS-I

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 13 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 12--The Congress (I) MP, Mr Ram Chandra Rath, today resigned from the primary membership of the party.

In a letter to the working president, Mr Kamlapati Tripathi, Mr Rath said: "I resign from the primary membership of Congress (Indira) after the sad demise of our late lamented illustrious leader Mrs Indira Gandhi."

Mr Rath was among the three ministers dropped by the new Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi. He was earlier the minister of state for chemicals and fertilisers.

Mr Rath has been active in Orissa politics. He is a well-known opponent of the chief minister, Mr J.B. Patnaik, who enjoys the confidence of Mr Gandhi.

Mr Rath's resignation has come as a shock to the Congress (I). He despatched his letter to Mr Tripathi at 11 am today and when contacted by this correspondent refused to comment on his resignation.

Mr Biju Patnaik said it was too early to speculate about Mr Rath's future plans but admitted that he had "considerable influence in Orissa politics." Mr Rath, it is learnt, can influence at least four Lok Sabha constituencies in Orissa.

Sources said Mr Rath had not yet made known his future course of action but added that a number of Congress (I) MPs and supporters were also likely to resign.

Until about a year ago Mr Ram Chandra Rath was fairly close to Mr Rajiv Gandhi. At that time Mr J.B. Patnaik's political future was uncertain. Mr Rath was sent to Orissa by Mr Gandhi to mount an anti-Patnaik campaign with the express purpose of making the chief minister more accountable to the Centre. Mr Rath's visit had the desired effect and sent Mr Patnaik rushing to Delhi to make peace with the leadership. He has not looked back since and his rise in power coincided with Mr Rath's fall from grace.

Mr Rath was a close associate of Sanjay Gandhi. He became the president of the Youth Congress (I) in 1977. Mrs Indira Gandhi inducted Mr Rath into the council of ministers in 1982.

Sources close to Mr Rath said at least six Congress (I) MPs from Orissa and a few legislators would also quit the party.

CSO: 4600/1183

FORMER MAHARASHTRA CM CALLS FOR SPLIT IN CONGRESS-I

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Nov 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] Bombay, November 26--Mr A.R. Antulay today called for a split in the Congress and the formation of a party comprising "those who were loyal to the secular, socialistic and democratic policies of Mrs Indira Gandhi."

A national convention of the rebels will be held within a few weeks in New Delhi, he told newsmen.

Mr Antulay accused Mr Rajiv Gandhi of violating the party constitution and encouraging those who had not proved their secular credentials. He said at best Mr Gandhi could function as the interim president of the party. Yet he made central working committee (CWC) and central parliamentary board (CPB) appointments in gross violation of party constitution.

Apart from that, the appointees were persons who did not represent the mass of Congressmen or reflect the opinion of the AICC, he further charged. However, when specifically asked whether he was accusing Mr Gandhi of being anti-secular, he replied in the negative.

Mr Antulay said he would file his nomination for the Lok Sabha polls from Raigad. The other rebel candidates include Mr Vakar Momin, MLA, from Bombay central-south, where the ruling party has decided to support the AICP nominee, Mrs Roza Deshpande, Mr Baburao Belose (Ratnagiri), Mr Raja Desai, son of Congress MLA, Mr S.N. Desai (Rajapur), Mr Baburao Thakre (Nasik), and Mr Keshavrao Authayade (Aurangabad), according to a source close to the ex-chief minister.

Asked if he would field a candidate against Mr Gandhi in the event of the latter choosing to contest from Ramtek also, Mr Antulay replied: "I am not fielding anybody. I have only appealed to Indira loyalists wherever they are to file their papers."

Mr Antulay, who has adopted a path of confrontation on his group being denied party tickets for the poll, said he would not be surprised if the nominees of Mr Gandhi had deliberately ignored "genuine" Congressmen while finalising the list of candidates for the poll.

He ridiculed the CPB as a "bunch of persons" without the sanction of the party constitution. He said there was no difference between this CPB choosing the candidates and himself finalising the names because both, according to him, did not have a constitutional right.

Mr Antulay said much was being made of the image of the party if he was given the ticket. A similar controversy was raised in 1980 too, when certain persons said Mrs Indira Gandhi, Mr Zail Singh and Mr Sanjay Gandhi should not contest the polls because of state prosecution against them.

In his case, the prosecution was being conducted by a private person. There cannot be any excuse for denying ticket to those who were committed to secularism and socialism, he added. Millions of Congressmen were today bound together by the "threat to secularism and socialism," he said.

Mr Antulay noted that when the cement controversy, which formed the subject matter of the case now against him, was at its peak, he had campaigned for party nominees in the Balapur and Nandurbar by-elections. In Sanjay's case, he had insisted upon the late youth leader facing the "court of the people," Mr Antulay said.

There have already been two splits in the Congress. "Let there be a third one," he declared. The policies of secularism, socialism and democracy, which were cherished by Mrs Gandhi, died on October 31 when she was killed by "three Indians," he alleged.

Alleging that for most of the Congress candidates, the concepts of secularism, socialism and democracy were alien, Mr Antulay said he and like-minded persons would launch an electoral and ideological battle to end the "dominance of a few individuals over the party through the interim president."

Mr Bhaurao Patil, MLA, who has been appointed the chief election agent of the rebels, said at present 20 legislators were with Mr Antulay. Their number may swell in the days to come, he added. Mr Antulay said he had received telephone calls from all over the country, congratulating him on the stand he had adopted.

#### Stand 'Hailed'

According to reliable sources, Mr Antulay, who raised the slogan of secularism repeatedly at his press conference today, will seek to influence minority votes. A representative of the newly-formed Dalit Muslim Alpa-sankhyak Suraksha Sang had already sent feelers to the Antulay group. In Vidarbha, pro-Antulay Congressmen will support Mr J.B. Dhote, who was recently expelled from the ruling party.

In reply to a question, Mr Antulay said he had not contacted any of the opposition parties. "If they wish to co-operate with me, I have no objection," he added.

According to Congress circles, some of the disgruntled elements within the party may flock to Mr Antulay. But their number will not be big enough to damage the party's prospects in the polls substantially, it is felt.

CSO: 4600/1191

## ELECTION COMMISSION ANSWERS QUESTIONS ABOUT FRONTS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 13 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 12--The permutations and combinations among political parties have little relevance to the Election Commission and if a party joining one such combine wished to contest under the symbol of the dominant partner in that combine, its candidates would have to be "sponsored" by the latter.

Commission sources clarified that point here today in answer to specific questions about the merging Fronts.

The Congress (S) is for instance, a recognized national party from the Election Commission's point of view. If that party, now a member of the Janata-led United Front, wished to contest the elections under the Janata symbol (as has been made clear by the UF spokesman), its candidates will have to be duly sponsored by the Janata Party. In effect, a Congress (S) candidate will be a Janata candidate, and listed in all papers as such.

The Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party is not yet a recognized party, and its candidates will contest under the Lok Dal symbol. The DMKP will, in other words, be the Lok Dal.

In a couple of days, the Election Commission will formally notify the various parties recognized by it and the symbols allotted to them.

There are three categories of parties in the commission's reckoning: recognized national parties, State parties and registered parties.

National parties are those which have in the last election secured 4% or more of the valid votes polled in more than four States or Union Territories. These are: the Congress (I), Congress (S), BJP, Janata, Lok Dal, CPI and CPI (M), seven in all.

State parties are those which polled 4% or more of the valid votes but in less than four States or Union Territories. There are 27 such State parties, the more prominent among them being: J and K National Conference, Akali Dal, Forward Bloc, RSP, DMK, AIADMK, Telugu Desam, Kerala Congress (both factions) and Muslim League (both factions).

CSO: 4600/1181

## CPI-M RELEASES 'APPEAL TO ELECTORATE'

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 14 Nov 84 p 8

[Text]

The CPI-M has offered to support a combination of the DMKP, Congress-S, Janata Party, Telugu Desam, National Conference (Farooq), and DMK in the Lok Sabha polls to defeat the Congress-I and isolate divisive forces while strengthening the Left and secular forces.

After the elections, CPI-M general secretary EMS Namboodiripad said while releasing a 11-page document titled "Appeal to the Electorate" on Tuesday, the CPI-M would support such a combination to form a Government on the basis of a commitment to stand for secularism, democracy, non-alignment and against authoritarianism and imperialism.

Stating that the country was faced with the twin danger of communalism and imperialism, the CPI-M has appealed to the electorate to reject the ruling party which "cannot be trusted to meet and fight these twin dangers". Congress-I's handling of the crises in Punjab and Assam has been highlighted as evidence of its inability to do so.

Mr Namboodiripad charged "imperialist agencies" of carrying out the assassination of Mrs Gandhi. He stated that earlier Liaquat Ali Khan, Solomon Bandaranike and Mujibur Rehman had been murdered by the same agencies.

Asked why imperialism would want to assassinate Indira Gandhi if she was soft towards it, Mr Namboodiripad said that though Mrs Gandhi did not rally the people against imperialism and for non-alignment, she made public

declarations to the effect. "Even these declarations were not the liking of imperialists," he added.

Drawing attention to the imperialist design aimed at ringing India with hostile powers, the CPI-M has noted that more than ever before the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union became crucial for the integrity of the country and peace in the region.

Stressing upon the restructuring of Centre-State relations, the CPI-M has pointed out that though the Opposition's Calcutta conclave raised this issue, the Congress-I refused to respond. "It is absolutely essential in the interests of the national unity that the States should be armed with more power," the party has said.

As against the current policies of the Government, the CPI-M has presented a 13-point programme to tackle the "immediate problems". The programme includes land reforms, raising internal resources through better management of public sector units, freeing the economy from foreign influence, minimum wages for industrial and agricultural workers, free education up to secondary level, removal of social inequality towards women and other down-trodden sections of society and withdrawal of ESMA and NSA.

The CPI-M has asked the electorate to recognise its responsibility in this "perilous" hour and to vote for the Left parties

CSO: 4600/1184



## CPI-M URGES CURBING OF PRESIDENT'S POWERS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 21 Nov 84 p 1

[Text]

Calcutta, Nov. 20: The CPI(M) feels that the President should exercise his power of declaring an Emergency only on limited occasions, like when the country is at war or if its security is threatened by external aggression. The party has also suggested that the ordinance-making powers of the President and governors be curtailed except "in very exceptional cases."

Making his submissions before the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-state relations here today, Mr Saroj Mukherjee, secretary of the CPI(M) state committee, demanded deletion or amendment of Article 311 of the Constitution to "curtail the arbitrary powers of the President and governors to dismiss government employees." An elected state legislature should not be dissolved by the President on the reports of a governor until the House itself resolves to dissolve or change a government by electing another leader.

The post of governor should also be abolished and, if this is not possible at present, the governor should be appointed by the President on the advice of the inter-state council from a panel of three names proposed by the legislative Assemblies.

Mr Mukherjee suggested that Supreme Court judges should be appointed or removed by the President after getting the approval of the majority of members in both Houses of Parliament. Similarly, High Court judges should be appointed by the governor with the approval of majority of the state legislators.

Mr Mukherjee felt that the states should be empowered to raise special forces, if and when necessary, to substitute the CRP or other forces of the Union government. "But there should be no dilution of authority of the Centre with regard to defence, military and border security forces, foreign affairs, economic and planning coordination, communication and currency," he said.

The CPI(M) leader demanded the abolition of the Concurrent list and deletion of Article 200 and 201 to make it obligatory for the governor to give his assent to bills passed by the state legislatures.

Mr Mukherjee said 75 per cent of the revenue collected by the Centre from all sources should be disbursed among the states. The Centre should form a special committee to formulate the principle for allocating funds.

CSO: 4600/1188

## RAJIV MEETS WITH EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICIALS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 14 Nov 84 p 10

[Text]

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on Tuesday told the foreign office and the economic ministries to be cautious in their economic dealings with certain countries which had in the past led India up the garden path, dumping obsolete machinery on us.

In a series of meetings with the Ministers and officials of the External Affairs Ministry and the secretaries of the other Ministries, the Prime Minister reaffirmed the tenets of Indian foreign policy and its desire to expand its political and economic relations with other countries.

But, he warned, that India should keep its national interest first while dealing with foreign countries.

In his review of foreign policy, Mr Gandhi devoted considerable time to India's relations with its neighbours, the peace initiative that Mrs Indira Gandhi had taken a few months before her assassination, and the need to pursue the economic and political proposals of the Non-Aligned Movement.

As chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Mr Gandhi received a briefing from Mr G Parthasarathy and senior officials on various steps that had been taken since the summit in March, 1983.

Apart from Mr Parthasarathy, chairman of the Policy Planning Committee of the External Affairs Ministry, those who attended the meeting were the two Ministers of State, Mr Ram Niwas Mirdha and Mr A A Rahim, Foreign Secretary M Rasgotra, Foreign Secretary-designate Romesh Bhandari and Dr Jaskaran Singh Teja, who has succeeded Mr Natwar Singh as Secretary (East).

The Prime Minister had had personal meet-

ings with most of the heads of State and Government who had come to Delhi for the funeral of Mrs Gandhi.

In particular, he had held talks with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov, US Secretary of State George Shultz, Chinese Vice-Premier, Pakistan President Ziaul Haq, President J R Jayewardene of Sri Lanka, President H M Ershad of Bangladesh and the brother of the King of Nepal.

His review on Tuesday touched on individual countries and India's response to current international developments. There will be a continuity in India's policy in the region and on issues.

While discussing issues of India's neighbourhood, Mr Gandhi stressed the need to strengthen cooperation under SARC and also to expand the scope of activities.

The Prime Minister showed special interest in the six-nation peace initiative. Mrs Gandhi had been a signatory to the appeal for disarmament to save the world from a nuclear holocaust. Some of the leaders who had been her co-signatories have personally told Mr Rajiv Gandhi that he should take immediate initiative in the matter and convene a summit of the six countries.

The other issue getting his attention is the report submitted by a five-nation group on the NAM proposals for an international conference on money and finance for development and a new international economic order.

In external publicity, Mr Gandhi has impressed on the officials the need to project India in the right perspective without distortions. He said the Ministry should adopt modern methods in procedures for issue of passports and visas.

## PAPER REPORTS PRESENTATION OF LAND NEHRU AWARDS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 14 Nov 84 p 8

[Text]

Vice-President R Venkataraman gave away the Soviet Land Nehru awards for 1984 — the 20th year of their inception — at a function in Delhi on Tuesday.

The memory of Mrs Indira Gandhi pervaded the award-giving ceremony at Mavlankar Hall. Soviet poetess Rimma Kazakova recited the poem she had written as a tribute to Mrs Gandhi. Of the award winners, Mrs Godavari Parulekar assailed the reactionary forces which were 'responsible' for her assassination after they could not pressurise her into giving up the path of peace and non-alignment.

Mrs Parulekar, 77, wins the award for her social work with the Adivasis in Maharashtra and her book 'Jemwha Manus Jaga Hoto' (When the Man Awakes) which is an account of the work. The book was recommended to the Awards Committee headed by Mr. T N Kaul by Mr K A Abbas.

The other recipients of the three main prizes which consist of Rs 15,000 each and a two-week trip to the Soviet Union are Bengali poet Subhash Mukhopadhyay and the Jawaharlal Nehru University.

While Mr Mukhopadhyay, 65, was unable to collect the prize in person, JNU Vice-Chancellor P N Srivastava accepted the honour on behalf of the university. The university is being recognised for its 'first and foremost centre in India conducting Russian language course on a full-time basis'. A BA (Hons) course in Russian language and literature started in the university in 1966.

Two special prizes were awarded by the awards committee to Shehnai maestro Ustad Bismillah Khan and Kathak artist Birju

Maharaj. The Vice-President also presented three awards of Rs 7,500 and a trip to the USSR each to veteran journalist V D Chopra, short story writer Amar Kant and painter B A Reddy.

Ten other scholars were awarded a cash prize of Rs 3,000. Five children have been selected for a month's holiday at Artek Young Pioneer Camp in Crimea.

Mr Venkataraman said the award not only signified the Indo-Soviet friendship, but were 'instrumental' in the development of knowledge and skills.

He felt that the awards committee had brought together the "kind of people for whom Nehru had a special corner in his heart."

A message sent by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to the awards committee a fortnight before she was assassinated was also read out to the audience. In the message, she recalled that the mission of Jawaharlal Nehru had been to "build a world order based on peace and fellow feeling among all the peoples of our globe."

She had said India's friendship with the Soviet Union had been motivated by India's concern for "peace and balanced economic growth." "Despite differences in traditions and systems our countries have both benefited", she had said.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said in his message that "Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundations of Indo-Soviet friendship on which Indira Gandhi built a fine edifice.

The relations between our countries have for long been a model for international cooperation between societies with different traditions and political structures."

Soviet Union leader Konstantin Chernenko in his message said "It is difficult to overestimate the significance of Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation as an important factor of strengthening peace and security in Asia and the world over." Soviet Ambassador Vasily N Rykov, while reading the message, expressed the support of the Soviet people for the policies of the new Prime Minister.

The ten men who have been selected for the prize of Rs 3,000 are: Mr B D Kher for the Marathi novel 'Hiroshima', Mr Ravindra Bagde for his articles on national integration and world peace, Mr Avanti Dave for his translation of a number of Soviet poems in Gujarati, Mr Kanak Chandra Mahante for rendering of the works of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky into Assamese, Dr Sabir Siddiqi for translating Rasul Gamazatov's poems into Urdu, Mr Divik Ramesh for his Hindi poems highlighting the humanistic approach to people's problems, Mr H C Pandey for translating Victoria Tokareva's short stories in Hindi, Mr A Srinivasan for his translations of the works of Lenin into Tamil, Dr C R Sarma for his writings in Telugu and Mr C Radhakrishnan for his Malayalam book 'Bhadrathayude Samatalangalil.'

The two main recipients of the Nehru Award this year have both been honoured earlier by the Sahitya Akademy Awards.

Mrs Parulekar has also received the Lokmanya Tilak Award, while Mr Mukhopadhyay has earlier received the Kumaran Asan Award, Ananda Prize, Lotus Prize and Mirza Turshun Zade Prize.

CSO: 4600/1184

## PAKISTAN TREATMENT OF SIKH PILGRIMS PROTESTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 20 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 19--The Pakistani Ambassador, Mr Humayun Khan, who was called to the Foreign Office today, was told of the dim view India took of the encouragement given by his country to pro-Khalistan Sikh pilgrims from third countries.

Mr M.K. Rasgotra, Foreign Secretary, who summoned Mr Khan to South Block, told him that such actions could only be considered unfriendly and inconsistent with Pakistan's professed desire for friendly and tension-free relations.

Mr Rasgotra repudiated the suggestion in a statement by a senior Pakistani Foreign Office official yesterday that India had wanted third country Sikhs to be barred entry to Nankana Sahib or other Sikh religious places in Pakistan. India had never suggested that third country Sikhs not be allowed into Pakistan even for pilgrimage. All that India had asked for was that the sacred occasion of a religious pilgrimage should not be exploited for anti-Indian or for political purposes by such pilgrims.

Conveying India's "unhappiness, indignation and concern" at the manner in which the Sikh extremist elements from third countries had been allowed to indulge in highly objectionable anti-India activities at Nankana Sahib, the Foreign Secretary told the Ambassador that what was more regrettable was that Pakistani officials had helped and encouraged them (the extremists).

The summoning of the Pakistani Ambassador to the Foreign Office today climaxes the raging controversy between the two countries over the activities of the Sikh extremists from Britain, Canada, West Germany and the USA during the birthday celebrations of Guru Nanak at Nankana Sahib earlier this month. India has made out a case against Pakistan that it not only encouraged but even participated (via the exchange of saropas between extremist Sikh leaders and a Pakistani Minister) in promoting anti-India sentiment during the celebrations.

India has also accused Pakistan of not having taken action against the third country Sikhs who had allegedly assaulted one of the Indian liaison officers accompanying the Indian pilgrims to Nankana Sahib. Pakistan has also been

accused of having allowed free distribution of pro-Khalistan video and audio cassettes by the third country Sikhs among the Indian contingent of 1,600 pilgrims.

Pakistan's President Zia-ul-Haq has said he is 'more than satisfied' with his recent meeting with India's Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and "I am very optimistic about Indo-Pak relations now that there is a much younger leadership," adds PTI from New York.

UNI adds: Pakistan has claimed that it took special precautions to ensure that the sanctity of Gury Nanak's birth anniversary celebrations at Nankana Sahib was not violated.

A Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday that in view of the tension in the Sikh community, Pakistan had asked the Government of India to reduce the number of pilgrims and to thoroughly brief them.

CSO: 4600/1186

## DELHI CUTS DUTY ON IMPORTED COMPUTER PARTS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 20 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 19--In a major and long-awaited policy decision designed to enable computer manufacturers to bring down the final product price to internationally competitive levels, the Government today announced a series of drastic cuts in Customs on imported computer components.

The duty on parts for manufacture of peripherals--which account for 58% of the cost of a computer--and micro-processor X-based equipment has been slashed from 80% to a mere 5%.

Peripherals have been divided into two categories: the ones that are being manufactured in the country and the ones that cannot possibly be manufactured indigenously for at least two years. The duty on the former has been reduced from 75% to 60% and on the latter to 25% from the present 164%.

In the second category, attracting only a 25% duty, are peripherals like line printer, paper tape reader, card reader, digitizer and plotters. In the first category, attracting a 60% duty are peripherals like floppy disk drive, winchester disk drive and serial printers. In respect of software in source code, where there is scope for improvement locally, there is no duty at all, against the 160% till now.

For software in object code, where there is no scope for improvement and the manufacturer is stuck with whatever he has imported, the duty has been reduced to 60% from the present rate of higher than 100%.

On computers whose import is cleared by the Department of Electronics, the duty has been reduced to 60% from the existing 135%.

Clearances of such import of computers will be governed by the sole consideration that it will not conflict with indigenous manufacture. The Department of Electronics will clear applications for such import within a maximum of two months, although, according to officials, the clearance will be effective even within three weeks.

Also, an application not cleared within the prescribed two months will be deemed to have been automatically cleared.

The new liberalized computer policy and the philosophy behind it were explained at a Press conference here today by Mr M.V. Vijayakar, Secretary to the Department of Electronics.

He said the objective of the new computer policy was threefold: "To enable manufacture in the country of computers based on the latest technology at prices comparable with international levels, and progressively increase indigenization consistent with economic viability.

CSO: 4600/1186



## RAJIV ADDRESS TO AIR FORCE COMMANDERS REPORTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 21 Nov 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 20--The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today expressed concern over the continuing arms build-up by Pakistan and warned that there was the "danger" of the weapons being directed against India.

Mr Gandhi who was addressing the bi-annual Air Force commanders' conference here, pointed out that the weapons Pakistan was acquiring ostensibly were for use in Afghanistan and mountainous terrain but "in reality" it was very difficult to use them there.

In this context, he referred to Delhi's past experience and said that whenever there was build-up of arms in Pakistan with an outside link-up "invariably India had suffered."

He also referred to reports in the American Press of Pakistan developing a nuclear device which was "again a matter of great concern to India."

Speaking about the security environment around India and the international situation, Mr Gandhi told the Air Force commanders that the world climate had shown no signs of improvement and the security environment around India necessitated "our being watchful." It was essential that India's defence forces be ever prepared to defend the unity and integrity of the country. India's defence forces had been modernized so that they would always be adequate to their task.

Emphasizing the need to give greater attention to defence, research and development, the Prime Minister said India's role in the sphere must be to meet "the new challenges and keep pace with the fast developing high technology and sophistication in the field of weapons.

"We must plan much further into the future. I get a feeling that our perceptions when we talk about our own R and D do not go far enough ahead so that by the time our R and D has had developed something, the world has moved much further ahead. We should try and jump ahead, maybe 10 years," he said.

Mr Gandhi emphasized the need for raising training standards to ensure not only better maintenance and handling of equipment but also bringing about a better and healthier outlook in the staff. "Ultimately it is not the weapons that matters so much as the man behind that weapon and no matter how sophisticated and modern our aircraft or technology is, if the man sitting there is not fully competent and capable, his morale is not high and his heart is not in the job, it is very difficult to get the best out of that equipment."

CSO: 4600/1179

## BRIEFS

INDO-ITALIAN PROTOCOL--A financial cooperation protocol between India and Italy was signed in Delhi on Tuesday by Mr P.K. Kaul, Finance Secretary and Dr G. Giacomeli, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, reports UNI. Under the protocol, the Italian authorities have agreed to extend their technical assistance in key sectors of the economy including agriculture, fisheries and energy. The projects likely to be approved include photo-voltaic systems for rural electrification and power generation, testing instruments for solar thermal devices, centres for leather design and training and tuna fishing in Indian waters. During the visit of the Italian team, financial conventions relating to the Thal Vaishal fertilizer project and the telephone instrument project of Indian telephone industry were also signed. A framework agreement on export credits of \$400 million was also finalised. This will be available to Indian importers for procurement of machinery, equipment, components and spares from Italy. The loan carries the consensus rate of interest and a repayment spread of approximately five and a half to 12 years. Meanwhile, India and Italy agreed to identify new areas for expansion of their bilateral trade. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Nov 84 p 2]

NEW FRG AMBASSADOR--New FRG Ambassador Gunther Schodel presented his credentials to President Zail Singh at Rashtrapati Bhavan on Tuesday, reports UNI. Welcoming the West German envoy, Mr Zail Singh said, "the times we live in--times of tension, terrorism and a feverish race for weapons of annihilation--we must cooperate to create a saner and more civilised world." Mr Zail Singh also appreciated the role played by FRG assistance in India's national building process, says an official release. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 Nov 84 p 8]

UTTAR PRADESH CABINET--Lucknow, Nov 26 (UNI, PTI)--Mr Krishan Prakash Tewari, MP, was inducted as a minister into the Uttar Pradesh Cabinet here today. This is the second expansion of the Cabinet since Mr N.D. Tewari took over as chief minister. With this, the strength of the N.D. Tewari Cabinet has risen to 18, excluding the chief minister. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 27 Nov 84 p 1]

MORE SOVIET IMPORTS--New Delhi, Nov 12 (PTI)--India's export to the Soviet Union in 1984 will be worth Rs 2,000 crores and is expected to be doubled in the next five years according to Mr I.I. Semenov, trade representative

of the USSR in India. At a press preview of the Soviet pavilion here today in connection with the forthcoming India international trade fair, he said besides a variety of manufactured goods, Soviet imports of traditional items like tea, jute and cotton textiles were also on the rise. He cited the example of Indian knitwear whose exports to the Soviet Union had increased from a few million rupees in the 60s to well over Rs 1000 crores, accounting for 90 percent of the country's knitwear export. Mr Semenov said the rupee payment system to the Soviet Union for various goods imported during 1983 has saved India a sum in hard currency equal to the total cost of all goods it bought during that period in Canada, Australia and the Netherlands. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 13 Nov 84 p 9]

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS CONTROLLED--New Delhi, Nov 21--The Union Government today issued a notification regulating the receipt of foreign contributions by all voluntary organizations engaged in cultural, economic, educational, religious and social programmes. The notification said all such organizations which regularly received foreign contributions would have to register themselves with the Ministry of Home Affairs by January 1, 1985, failing which they would have to seek prior permission of the Home Ministry for each and every foreign contribution received by them thereafter. The Government has already banned receipt of foreign contribution by political parties through an Ordinance promulgated on October 20 amending the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 1976. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 Nov 84 p 9]

AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN--New Delhi, Nov 20--Mr A. Madhavan, Minister in the Indian Embassy in Moscow, has been appointed Indian Ambassador to Japan, reports UNI. He succeeds Mr K.P.S. Menon, who has been posted as Ambassador to China. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 21 Nov 84 p 7]

INDO-MAURITIUS JOINT VENTURE--New Delhi, Nov 8--India and Mauritius on Tuesday reached an understanding on a joint shipping venture, particularly on the number and type of ships to be acquired and the necessary financial arrangements. The State-owned Shipping Corporation of India is expected to play an important role in the proposed joint venture. It is understood that initially each country would operate one ship, with the Indian vessel picking up Mauritius sugar for Europe and returning with fertilizers and other items normally imported from Europe. The two sides would exchange relevant information for finalizing the memorandum of agreement and prepare for the next round of talks proposed to be held in Mauritius in February next. The operations are likely to start in the middle of next year. The four-member Mauritius delegation was led by Mr R. Bheenick while the Indian team was headed by Mr V.S. Venkataraman, joint secretary, in the Shipping and Transport Ministry. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 9 Nov 84 p 11]

RAJIV SCORED--Mr Nagabhusan Pattanayak, the well-known Naxalite leader and chairman of the Indian Peoples' Front, said in Calcutta on Wednesday that the installation of Mr Rajiv Gandhi was a "slur on the Indian nation." Describing Mr Gandhi as "yesterday's pilot, a political amateur," Mr

Pattanayak said Mr Gandhi had no experience of administration as he did not hold any ministerial posts in Indira Gandhi's Cabinet. He felt this "imposition" should not be tolerated by the Indian people. Mr Pattanayak said the newly-formed Indian People's Front was not a political party but a "political forum" which would project its views through peaceful means. He said the adoption of peaceful means was totally dependent on the ruling class. If any attempt was made to suppress the IPF's "democratic movement, it would be met by revolutionary violence." The Naxalite leader observed that both the Congress (I) and the Opposition parties had alienated themselves from the common people. The primary reason for the disenchantment was that these parties had lost touch with the countryside where 80% of the Indians lived. Mr Pattanayak came to Calcutta for the second national conference of the IPF which concluded on Tuesday. Mr V. Subba Rao, working president, summing up the deliberations of the conference, said Indira Gandhi's assassination had been condemned at the conference. It warned the people of "direct intervention by foreign powers" in India's internal affairs and the emergence of a "near military dictatorship." [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 Nov 84 p 12]

CSO: 4600/1192

## INTEREST-FREE DEPOSITS TO BE ENCOURAGED WITH PRIZES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Oct 84 p 3

[Text] In the first 5 months since the execution of the new banking laws regarding interest-free deposits, a total of 280 billion rials covering all types of banking transactions based on Islamic banking covenants have been up at the disposal of bank customers. The banks also will award prizes to depositors of interest-free loan deposits.

KEYHAN's economic correspondent reports: Dr Mohsen Nur Bakhsh, director general of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Bank Markazi, in making the above statement in a press, radio and TV interview, explained the monetary and banking situation of the country. In part of this interview he made reference to the resources that have become available to the banking system following execution of the interest-free banking laws and said: "In the first 5 months since the execution of the new banking laws, total deposits have amounted to 1,068 trillion rials. Of this, 230 billion rials were in the form of deposits for interest-free loans, 657 billion rials in the form of long-term deposits and 181 billion rials in the form of short-term deposits." He added: "During the same period, 280 billion rials were put at the disposal of bank applicants through various banking transactions by banks throughout the country. Of this sum, 22 billion rials were made available as interest-free loans, 3 billion rials under rental contract with a lien, 90 billion rials under installment sale contract, 31 billion rials in private partnership form, 43 billion rials in civil associations, 50 billion rials of compound interest and 3 billion rials to customers in direct capital investments."

As for total proceeds, Dr Nur Bakhsh stated: "The total proceeds of the banks amounts to 6,400 trillion rials, of which 1,480 trillion are still deposited under the old system of deposit accounts, 577 billion are in time-deposit accounts and 2,508 trillion are assigned to the regular running bank accounts." He went on to say: "A comparison of the total bank proceeds with the new deposit accounts indicates the favorable reaction to the new system. Therefore, according to the law, by the end of 1363 (21 March 1984-20 March 1985) all old accounts will have been transferred to the new system."

### Prizes for Interest-Free Loan Depositors

The director general of Bank Markazi then referred to the prizes for interest-free loan depositors: "Several prizes, such as pilgrimages to Mecca, Syria or the holy shrines within the country, or other prizes such as automobiles or household effects, have been considered for this purpose." Then he asked the mass media to make every effort to familiarize the general public with the new banking system.

The director general of the Islamic Republic's Bank Markazi in another part of this interview made reference to the economic situation of the country: "The median inflation rate for the first 6 months of the current year was 13.5 percent. This figure, compared with last year's, shows a significant decrease. We hope this decrease in the rate of inflation will continue unabated until the end of the year." He also predicted that the value of gold will continue its downward trend and expressed his optimism for this general direction as long as government employees are paid in gold coins. Furthermore, he added: "As for wholesale prices, we have had a downward trend. The median rate for wholesale prices in the first 6 months of the current year was 7.1 percent. Compared with last year's rate this figure shows a decrease. Nevertheless, in the year 1363 (21 March 1984-20 March 1985) the rise in price increases has been less intensified than last year."

### Foreign Exchange Policy of the Country

The director general of Bank Markazi, speaking of the foreign exchange policy of the country, stated: "So far, no changes have been made in the foreign exchange policy of the country. Any changes in this policy would depend on the predictions that will be made about the future condition of the country's foreign exchange. In any case, what is certain is that we will give priority to our immediate needs, and therefore the requirements of other sectors will be considered. The foreign exchange policy of the country encourages productive investment while it proceeds to deal cautiously with the service sector."

Regarding the cash supply, he stated: "The rate of cash supply has been held virtually in check during the first 5 months of the current year. This rate has been held to between 2 and 3 percent. The decrease in this rate of cash supply is a result of the government's policy to control governmental expenditures." He added: "The halt in the rate of cash supply, together with the increase in the rate of production, are significant factors resulting in a decrease in the rate of inflation in the country."

### Participation of Iran in the Common International Monetary Fund Assembly

As regards the participation of Iran in the common International Monetary Fund Assembly and the World Bank and the prospect of an increase in Iranian shares in the World Bank, Dr Nur Bakhsh stated:

"As sanctioned by the Islamic parliament, it was decided that the Iranian shares in the World Bank should be increased, but as of this date no increase in the International Monetary Fund has been proposed." He also added: "We believe that we should participate in international economic assemblies, which are probably a tool in the hands of the great powers, with more intensity and, as far as we are able, try to neutralize their plans, particularly those plans that involve the monetary and financial issues of the Third World."

In reply to a question regarding the amount of foreign exchange allotted to each pilgrim to Mecca, he said: "The amount of foreign exchange allotted to pilgrims to Mecca will not exceed the amount allotted in 1362 (21 March 1983-20 March 1984), and so far we have acted within that foreign exchange framework."

Regarding the conversion of rials in the black and unofficial markets, Dr Nur Bakhsh stated: "All transactions in such markets are unlawful." He added: "We think the smuggling of foreign exchange is fed by the actions of Afghan refugees, who are working in different areas and convert rials into foreign exchange to send to their families. Clearly, this could be a contributing factor. It should be determined whether these people have work permits and are allowed to convert their money or not. Another factor is the escape of capital via people who sell their property and belongings and transfer the money abroad. Such measures should be controlled by the responsible authorities in charge of the southern and eastern borders of the country."

Concerning formation of the representative branch of a Turkish bank, he stated: "This representation of a Turkish bank should not be construed as a bank branch. This representation is based on the protocol signed between the two countries. It should be noted that such a representative bank branch does not carry out banking transactions at all. Likewise, the representative branch of the Iranian-German bank does not perform any normal banking transactions. This bank is an Iranian bank and its shares belong to the Iranian banks, whereas its major banking activities are carried out in Germany."

12719

CSO: 4640/83



## MFA OFFICIAL ELABORATES ON DISTURBANCE AT IRAQI POW CAMP

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 Oct 84 p 3

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran has made public the report by representatives of the International Red Cross regarding recent confrontations between Iraqi POW's in Gorgan camp, in contravention of the Geneva Convention of 1949, which divulges the details of this incident. The director general of the Foreign Ministry's Department of International Affairs, Mohammad Ja'far Mahallati, stated in this regard: "We are not only not opposed to an investigation by the United Nations as requested by the Iraqi Government, but we would welcome such a gesture, on the condition that the United Nations dispatch a delegation to investigate the violations of the Geneva Convention concerning the fate of thousands of Iranians missing in Iraq, the improper treatment of Iranian POW's in that country and the martyrdom of more than 10 Iranian POW's in Iraq, a report on which by the Red Cross has been presented to Iran. We are sure that the condition of the Iraqi POW's in Iran is much better than international standards or those set forth in the Geneva Convention."

Mr Mahallati, who was talking with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY (IRNA) regarding the recent incident at the Iraqi POW camp in Gorgan, stated: "During a visit by representatives of the Red Cross to the Iraqi's POW camp in Gorgan on 9 October, one of the Iraqi POW's conveyed false reports to the Red Cross representatives, reports that were met with objections from other Iraqi's. As a result, tension was created in the camp, which then led to confrontations."

He then added: "Some of the POW's had prepared themselves for the creation of such a riot and confrontation in advance. Some attacked the guards in order to disarm them, while other Iraqi POW's attacked other opposing POW's and killed three of them in a most horrible and inhumane manner. The evidence against those individuals who committed the murders is fully available." Mahallati went on to say: "Following this confrontation, to restore calm and order the guards used water sprinklers, fired shots in the air or used plastic bullets to separate the fighting POW's, but to no avail. As a result, five people on both sides lost their lives and several were wounded." He emphasized: "At the end of this confrontation it was quite clear that this incident

had been preplanned and one of the POW's, who was one of the instigators of this riot, even confessed that the Red Cross was fully aware of this fact. Nevertheless, we are conducting a full investigation into the incident."

The director general of the Foreign Ministry's Department of International Affairs stated: "The guards tried to prevent this mishap, to minimize the number of people hurt. They even saved the lives of some of the Red Cross representatives who were in direct danger." Mr Mahallati said: "Unfortunately, the International Red Cross, contrary to the articles of the 1949 Geneva Convention, before a full investigation of the incident, announced the news and used it as a propaganda weapon against Iran. The important point in this regard is the simultaneous announcement of this incident and the unilateral release of some 70 sick Iraqi POW's by Iran. Since this incident occurred on 8 October, 2 weeks after the representatives of the Red Cross made the announcement, the coincidence of the unilateral release of sick Iraqi POW's and the announcement of this incident in the world press has raised some questions on our part."

Furthermore, he added: "We expected that the representatives of the International Red Cross, in seeing an incident occurring in an unexpected and premeditated fashion, would have familiarized the Iraqi POW's with their rights. At this time, the question that comes to our mind is whether the representatives of the Red Cross really performed their duty as it is expected of them."

He also said: "On September 16, 1984 we notified the Red Cross in a memorandum that according to our information, some of the instigations that were directed at the Red Cross caused disturbances and that it would be much better if the Red Cross paid closer attention to the rules. It also should be noted that in the Gorgan camp, there have been fewer disturbances compared with other camps." Mr Mahallati also called attention to the complaint lodged by Iran with the UN secretary general 2 years ago concerning an investigation into the fate of 10,000 Iranians who are missing and said: "Two years ago, Iran presented to the Human Rights Commission a formal complaint and a list of 10,000 of its missing POW's who are, according to available evidence and pictures, living in Iraq, but the representative of the Iraqi regime expressed his opposition to an investigation." The director general of the Department of International Affairs stated: "This list is more complete now and we would like to ask the UN secretary general to try to convince the Iraqi regime to conduct a full and serious investigation in this regard."

He also added: "The Red Cross should bear the consequences of any improper pressure that is brought upon the Iranian POW's in Iraq as a result of the action of representatives of that organization. On the other hand, we announce that we duly honor our obligations to the Geneva Convention."

Regarding the unilateral release of 72 sick Iraqi POW's, he said: "We announced our readiness several weeks ago to unilaterally release these POW's. Unfortunately, as a result of some technical problems or unfounded excuses by the Red Cross to the effect that the release of the POW's had many technical difficulties connected with it and that it would require more time, one of the POW's died a natural death."

Mr Mahallati emphasized: "Although we announced our readiness to release the sick Iraqi POW's, we don't understand why they delayed so long until Iraq released 100 Iranian POW's, of which more than 70 percent were civilians, and the Red Cross completely ignored the situation of the Iranian POW's." He went on to say: "Most of the Iraqi POW's are registered with the Red Cross and officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran have always assisted that organization in the performance of its duties."

Although we have thousands of people missing in Iraq, the Red Cross, despite our notifications, has not been able to visit the camp of our missing POW's in Iraq. He said: "The condition of our POW's in Iraqi camps, according to the Red Cross statements, is very unfavorable, and such matters call for immediate investigation." Mr Mahallati added: "We in the Islamic Republic of Iran, not only because of our obligations toward the Geneva Convention but also because of humane and Islamic incentives, have treated the Iraqi POW's in the best way possible. We will continue to follow this policy and the presence or absence of the Red Cross will have no effect on our humane behavior whatsoever."

12719

CSO: 4640/111

GDR-IRAN TALKS FOR SETTING UP TEXTILE UNITS REPORTED

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 5 Dec 84 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN — The German Democratic Republic within the framework of the Joint Iran-GDR Commission would increase its technical and economic cooperation with Iran, said a visiting German official here Monday, IRNA reported yesterday.

The Deputy Foreign Trade Minister of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Clause Gaedt, said so in a meeting with the Iranian Minister of Industries, Gholamreza Shafeie.

The GDR deputy foreign trade minister, who arrived in Tehran Sunday heading a trade and economic delegation, further added that his country could assist Iran in building flour mills, tool and machinery industries, cement factories, and also in renovating its industries.

Shafeie said there was ample opportunity for both countries to cooperate in the fields of industry and economy. He further stressed that economic cooperation, accompanied by technological ties, would yield to better results and stronger relations.

He further pointed out that Iran had vast resources of caoline and siliceous deposits used in China and glass manufacturing. Therefore, Iran would welcome GDR's providing them with the related industries at a reasonable price.

"Otherwise," he added, "Iran would purchase these industries from other countries with easier conditions," according to IRNA.

Shafeie further added that the GDR official has promised to provide Iran with textile industries."

CSO: 4600/161

# TRADE EXCHANGE BETWEEN IRAN, HUNGARY ELABORATED

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 9 Dec 84 p 2

[Text]

BUDAPEST— Trade between Iran and Hungary amounted to half a billion dollars during the last Iranian fiscal year starting March 1983, and the Hungarian finance minister is to arrive in Tehran, heading a delegation for joint economic talks during next March, an IRNA report said.

The Hungarian prime minister has also accepted an invitation of his Iranian counterpart to visit the Islamic Republic.

IRNA said Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati held talks with Hungarian president, prime minister and industry minister on the third day of his official visit to Budapest Friday.

The Hungarian President, Pal Losonczi, said during the talks that Velayati's current visit was a sign of expanding relations between the two countries and called for more exchanges of high-ranking delegations.

Accompanying Dr. Velayati in the talks were Mahmoud Marvi, a member of the Majlis Foreign Relations Committee, an official from the Foreign Ministry and ambassadors from Iran and Hungary.

In his meeting with Prime Minister, Gyorgy Lazar, Dr. Velayati said Iran's foreign policy was based on strengthening ties with neighboring, Moslem, and Third World countries as well as countries which did not intend to impose

their domination.

He expressed hope that the future meeting of the Iran-Hungary joint committee in Tehran would result in ways to expand bilateral relations more than ever.

Prime Minister Lazar accepted an invitation from his Iranian counterpart Hussein Musavi to make an official visit to Iran.

The Iranian delegation also met with the Industry Minister Laszlo Kapolyi Friday.

During the talks the two sides discussed their relations in the fields of food industry, agriculture industry, animal husbandry, insecticides, light industry, machine building and energy.

Dr. Velayati stressed that one way Hungary could increase economic relations with the Islamic Republic was "by improving the quality of its goods."

Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati also met and reviewed topics of mutual interest with his Hungarian counterpart Peter Varkonyi in Budapest Thursday.

Velayati told Varkonyi that a complicity between Baghdad, Cairo, Amman and Washington is one to the detriment of the peoples of the Middle East.

A more decisive fighting should be waged against the regime occupying Qods so that it will ensure more tangible victories for Moslems, he added.

The Iranian foreign minister deplored the division between the Arab world and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and said the recent meeting in Amman shows "a retrograde motion" of certain leaders of the PLO in their fighting with the Qods occupying regime.

The two foreign ministers emphasized on the need for a solidarity between the progressive forces of the Middle East nations.

In relation with the imposed war, Velayati said that Baghdad has embroiled Iran in an unwanted war with the idea of exterminating the Islamic Revolution.

Velayati and Peter Varkonyi also voiced concern over the escalating arms race and shared identical views on the need for halting it. They also declared their criticism of Washington for encroaching upon the various parts of the world and also voiced support for the struggles of the African, Asian, and Latin American peoples in safeguarding their independence.

In his meeting with Velayati, the Hungarian foreign minister described Velayati's visit to Budapest as an exceedingly valuable measure in

expanding the relations between the two countries.

The Hungarian foreign minister also submitted an invitation from the president of the Hungarian National Assembly Ntal Apro to Iran's Majlis Speaker Hojjatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani for a visit to Budapest.

Later in the day Velayati met and held talks with the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Trade, Peter Veress, and the Hungarian Minister of Finance, Dr. Istvan Hetenyi.

In his talks with Veress, Velayati expressed hope that an expansion of trade relations between the two countries would also entail expansion of their relations in other areas as well. He also emphasized a need for furthering economic relations between the two countries in a long-term planning in his talks with the Hungarian Minister of Finance Dr. Istvan Hetenyi.

The Hungarian finance minister is to arrive in Tehran in March 1985 as head of a Hungarian delegation at a Joint Irano-Hungarian Committee on economic cooperation.

From March 1983 until March 1984 Iran and Hungary exchanged as much as 0.5 billion dollars worth of goods.

CSO: 4600/162

CRITICAL REVIEW OF BOOK ON PAKISTANI ARMY BY U.S. AUTHOR

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 11 Oct 84 p 2

[Review by Maj Gen (retd) Ehsanul Haq Dar of book "The Pakistani Army" by Stephen Cohen]

[Text] Nowadays the trend in our country is that whether a book is available in Pakistan or not there is no dearth of reviewers in this country. Take for example the case of the American author Stanley Wolpert. He has written a biography of Quaid-e Azam called "Jinnah of Pakistan." Reviews of this book, following appropriate interpretations and excerpts from the author's appearances, have been published at least three times. Since these were released by news agencies, they were carried by almost all of the newspapers in the country. As far as this is concerned, everything appears to be simple and straightforward. As is the case with films, review of a book prior to publication is considered legitimate. Along with the publication of this review there was a news report that a bookseller had been arrested simply because he committed the crime of ordering this book, as though it contained material, opinion or assessment that cannot be tolerated. If this is correct, then why was permission granted for publication of the review, and why were newspapers not informed that permission would not be granted to import this book into Pakistan? Also, is it realistic to expect a biography by a foreign author to be free from all criticism? It is possible and essential for us that permission be given to bring this book into Pakistan, so that people can comment on it, criticize it and respond and counter-respond to it. Some Western books that openly criticize Quaid e Azam are commonly available in Pakistan, for example, Lord Attlee's biography written by Kenneth Harris. There are so many of these books that it is practically impossible to impose restrictions. After all, how many books can you prevent from coming into Pakistan and what can you achieve by these restrictions? The same applies to Stephen Cohen's book, "The Pakistani Army." Two reviews have already been published on this book. One, by Dr Hasan Askari Rizvi, is in English and the other, by Prof Waris Mir, is in Urdu. Even so, it is difficult to predict whether permission will be granted to import this book into Pakistan and publish it here, because it contains much that can spark discord.

Another important and essential factor is that some Western authors belong to educational or literary groups that obviously harbor a negative attitude toward Pakistan. They believe that every topic and every event reveal that Pakistan

is about to disintegrate, and they seek confirmation of their peculiar beliefs in every event and somehow or other they always return to the same point: All else may be true, but what is the future of Pakistan? One famous figure in this group is (Selig) Harrison, who appears to be bereaved about Baluchistan; he has written two books on Baluchistan. And then there is Stephen Cohen, who is also a victim of negativism.

Mr Ziauddin Sardar has pointed to a third factor in his criticism, which was published in issue No 4, Vol 2 of the "Vilayat Islamia Book Review" ["The Muslim World Book Review"]. According to Mr Ziauddin Sardar, there is a trade union of Western writers whose foremost objective is mutual praise and admiration, and whose second objective is to work for the advancement of their writings so that when the numbers are taken into account they will show a higher index of success. In the West, the author whose books are referred to most surpasses other authors or gains fame. Similarly, in the West agreements are reached among authors that enable them to surpass others in gaining attention and it has been noted that some authors usually refer only to certain works, and some organizations or publishers implement this plan with great artfulness and agility. Such prejudice is generally found among Jewish organizations and Zionist authors. The victims of this prejudice are usually Muslim authors and Islamic organizations and journals. This is indeed a very important and delicate problem, and because of this we present below somewhat detailed excerpts from Ziauddin Sardar's article:

"Last year unexpectedly I had the opportunity to participate in a discussion in Mexico City. The subject of the discussion was "The History of Science in Latin America." This discussion in Mexico City is a good example of how monopoly on knowledge is established. Western intellectuals had informed the Latin American historians frankly and without any hesitation that they had sole monopoly over the history of science and technology and that they alone could decide who or what is important, what points should be stressed in research and who should be given preference, who merits importance in this field and who does not, and that from the standpoint of scientific performance, all ground had already been covered and all Latin American authors were excluded. In other words, the ultimate result of this discourse was that the Latin American authors seeking some portion of the budgetary pie by writing the history of science and technology of Latin America are merely wasting their time. Now you can judge for yourself the influence of the group that controls not only the field of scientific thought but also publishes journals and indices of quotations and references to this field. This same group decides which journals should be included in the indices, which journals and compositions should be used as references, who should be allowed to go ahead, which problems should be made the topic of intense discussion and which problems should not be given much importance. Such groups have complete authority over such fields." (pp 3, 5)

Therefore, before reviewing Stephen Cohen's book it is necessary to note the particular literary group to which he belongs, because we will try to prove that knowingly or unknowingly, Stephen Cohen actually divulged the point of view of the Indian Army and India, his true love.



Stephen Cohen, despite being a comparatively young author, has been interested in South Asia for some time. He came to Pakistan in 1965 and tried to establish contact with the Pakistani Army, but he did not succeed in his efforts. He came to Pakistan a second time in 1978, i.e., during the time of the present martial law regime. He was officially invited to visit the Pakistani Army in 1980. A brigadier was assigned as his companion. It may be mentioned here that the brigadier did not belong to the intelligence service. He visited various places and met with young and high-ranking officers. According to him, he met with many of these officers abroad--may the responsibility for falsehood rest with the narrator; he perhaps even ridiculed the group of generals and high-ranking officers who always surrounded him as a sign of hospitality. Analyzing one of his articles in the 29 August 1982 issue of NAWA-I-WAQT, we stated:

"Stephen Cohen is a professor of political science and Asian affairs at Illinois University. In the beginning he studied Indian politics and the Indian defense policy, visited India several times and was even a guest of the Indian Army. He has published a number of books, including one on the Indian Army. He decided to come to Pakistan 2 years ago. Stephen Cohen no doubt is an expert and has a doctorate in Indian affairs, but his friendship with Pakistan and his interest in this country is comparatively new. The fact is that reading his article gives the impression that in his new love the characters from his first love are predominant." (See page 3, "Defense Program and Developing Countries")

After visiting Pakistan, he also wrote a report for the U.S. Department of State (See "Treaty 1722-020167"). An unclassified part of this draft was sent to Pakistan and now, after minor modifications, it has been published in book form. According to Stephen Cohen, he has three objectives: (a) a description of the Pakistani Army and military officers; (2) an account of Pakistan's strategies and an analysis of its misleading policies; and (3) the big powers and an analysis of their plans.

In the next part of this review we will dwell on that portion of Cohen's analysis that deals with the statements of military officers. Here it is appropriate to mention the prevailing psychological, political and economic conditions Cohen had in mind at the time he wrote this book. Cohen says:

1. Some Pakistanis and foreigners believe that Pakistan will not be able to survive in its present form for more than a decade. Pakistan is an unenviable country, which, like Poland, can be divided and terminated.
2. Pakistan is one of those countries one of whose characteristics is that its security is always threatened, whose logical status is questioned and whose customary security forces are not in a position to resist the pressure of hostile neighbors. (p 29)
3. If for some reason Pakistan is divided in the future, the reason for such a division will not be destiny but incapability. (p 116)

Discussion of the logical status (of any country) its weakness or sickness, is superficial and often meaningless analysis. This is nothing more than media

sensationalism, because such incidents can be turned into political news. Facts can be distorted, columns and books also can be written. But despite predictions, these very same countries miraculously recover, and that is a different matter. Before the First World War, Turkey was called a sick country, not because all countries were aware of its illness and wanted to cure it sympathetically but because their goal was to divide this Muslim country into small parts. In colonial policy, the break-up of non-Christian countries, the superiority of Christian countries and the acquisition of colonies are called the three primary pillars. This is why sickness is proclaimed and international as well as national public opinion is prepared for surgery. It was only a few years ago that Britain was called the sick man of Europe. The only difference was that because it is a Christian and a European country, there was no intention of dividing it. But Turkey too, now that it is a secular state, is no longer considered a sick country. Britain, after the war in the Falklands, has once again become a small lion. There was a time when there were reports that India was falling apart and breaking into pieces.

(Selig) Harrison's and Stephen Cohen's constant beating of the drum that Pakistan is on the edge of destruction and is about to disintegrate, aside from the indignation they incite, is simply disgusting. Our self-made well wishers and friends hover over us like vultures. The irony is that if a national of some foreign country were to be appointed as Pakistan's president and foreigners were made governors, then these very authors would abandon their negative attitude and start saying that Europeans saved Pakistan. Should you have any doubt, then you may see it for yourself by inviting Geraldine Ferraro.

9315

CSO: 4656/13

# ELECTIONS VIEWED WITH OPTIMISM, BUT CAUTION ADVISED

Rawalpindi HURMAT in Urdu 28 Oct-8 Nov 84 p 5

[Editorial: "Pakistan Also Should Be Cautious"]

[Text] Bangladesh's military leader Gen Hussain Mohammad Ershad's decision to postpone elections indefinitely was not unexpected. Recently, the two opposition parties in Bangladesh have been not only increasingly active but also involved in pillage, vandalism and murder. The (female) leadership of these parties had declared that "not only will we participate in these elections, but we will not even let these elections be held during a martial law regime." On the other side, the "Iron Man," General Ershad, maintained that martial law will not be lifted until after the elections. Despite this warning by the Iron Man, the opposition parties did not agree to participate in the elections. Then the Bangladesh president warned that if these parties did not agree to participate in the elections, there would be no elections. Thus, our worst fears were realized.

The (female) leadership of the opposition parties and the president of Bangladesh both may think this postponement of elections is an indication of their power. However, this will only bring about more violence and even civil war in Bangladesh. Perhaps the enemies of Bangladesh (or their agents) consider it their success, and they may be welcoming this postponement of the elections. Bangladesh's friends, however, are saddened by this decision.

By the Grace of God, Pakistan does not face a similar situation. Our situation looks promising. Our countrymen are aware of General Zia's honesty, submissiveness and humility. All of us strongly believe that our president, in keeping with his promise, will hold elections before March 1985. At the same time, Pakistan's opposition parties are demonstrating an exemplary spirit of cooperation. They are willing to cooperate even in a "crippled" election. Thus, an atmosphere of arbitration and cooperation has emerged in our country to welcome a change from military to civilian rule. We are sure that the government that will take power as the result of the coming elections will be in a better position to solve our country's problems. The new leadership will seek solutions as the situation demands to the problems that confront us.

We have only 100 days left before the elections. During this period (which is at the same time very brief and very long), the foreign powers that do not want a stable government in Pakistan will try their best to sabotage election plans. They can spread hate and prejudice and try to scare people away. Therefore, both the government and the politicians have to be extremely cautious during the coming 100 days. We are asking them to keep the present state of affairs in Bangladesh in mind whenever they make a decision.

7997

CSO: 4656/36

## PROMINENT FIGURES IN ELECTORAL PICTURE DEPLORED

Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 5-12 Nov 84 pp 24-26

[Article by Saidur Rahman Alvi: "The Coming Elections"]

[Excerpts] The coming year will be an election year. At least that is what has been given out by the president, the ministers and the chairman of the Shoorā. Some people have already started political activities on the sly. Some people's doubts about the elections seem to be baseless in the face of the president's announcement of a 35-day election campaign. We think, however, that the president has confused people by suddenly announcing elections on a party basis. In this way he will achieve his aim without being blamed for holding nonparty elections. The recent turmoil inside Sind could bring a postponement in the elections, and the government would not be blamed for it.

The question for us is, considering the election system in the country, can the right sort of people come into power? The more we think about it the more worried we become. The members of the first constitutional assembly were the same people who had been won in the last election under the British, held in accord with British policies. After that, when the Pakistani ideal was ignored and it was announced that everybody here would be Pakistani, and there would be no difference between Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Parsis, all the members of parliament clapped their hands with joy at the announcement because nobody understood the implications of what was being said. Those capitalists and feudalists that had become members of the parliament by chance did not know or care about what was happening. They had been born in Muslim families but were completely lacking in the spirit of Islam. They had been brought up in a modern environment and educated in institutions that had no connection with Islam. They were the insolent men who treated the people living in their villages as if they were cattle. Their attitude toward the common man was exactly what the attitude of the feudal lords was in the Dark Ages.

It was owing to these people that we drifted away from democracy, and when a crippled governor general broke the constitution, not a single one of them had the guts to oppose him in the name of democracy and freedom. They had no need to do so since their own lives were unaffected. They had comfortable homes in Karachi and Lahore. They (and their dogs) traveled by air and went to their homes by cars. During the assembly

session they passed their time sleeping in the chairs. They had no interest in the country or the people; all they wanted was to collect their daily allowance for the period of the assembly session. They passed their time attending feasts and flattering the ministers to get facilities for their relatives. They cared for nothing else. That is why none of them was outraged at the step governor Ghulam Mohammad had taken. They said nothing because they cared about nothing. All they wanted was to be in the good graces of the governor and the ministers. The laxness of their political principles can be seen from the ease with which they moved to the Muslim League from the Unionist and Congress Parties and again from the Muslim League to the Awami League and the Republican Party. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was the deputy leader of the Congress Party. He had written the book "Gold and Guns." He shamelessly joined the Muslim League and became a leader of a province. He, like the rest of them, was extremely cruel to the people. Everybody knew that Dr Khan Sahib was a staunch Congressman. When he formed his Republican Party, the politicians ran to him as dogs run to eat a corpse. When our nominal democracy was destroyed in 1958, the military leaders clamped martial law on us, these leaders were as mute as they were in the days of Ghulam Mohammad. When Ayub Khan thought it necessary to have a political party, he had only to whistle to make these loyal dogs come scrambling to his feet. After Ayub Khan came Yahyah Khan, during whose time they took a little rest. When that rake (Yahyah Khan), in a fit of drunkenness, broke Pakistan in two, they joined the followers of that "strong man," Bhutto. They prepared a draft giving Bhutto the mandate to continue his "people's martial law." Bhutto took out of his pocket another draft signed by 104 members of the parliament and declared the end of the martial law. It was a slap in their faces. If they had had any self-respect they would have left the assembly, resigned their membership and said good-bye to politics, but they were shameless and applauded the insult to them.

Now most of them have reached parliament by joining the Shoora. These are the bare facts. Now the question arises--What sort of leadership do we expect to get from such elections? We do not want to displease "the lovers democracy" by saying that we should have no elections. They have not the strength to hear the truth. They can only say and hear pleasant things. We do not want to become the target of their criticism, but we cannot help saying that if the same old faces are to be seen in the parliament, why waste so much time and money on the elections? Under the present system of education, the development of genuine leadership is hard if not impossible to achieve. All of the highly educated people, the intellectuals, the social and religious reformers, the scientists, the technicians and those who can understand the intricacies of international politics belong to the middle class and cannot come into power. The only people who will come into power are the Mirs, Jatois, Hirs, Makhdumzadas, Qurayshis, Gilanis, Maliks, Nuns, Khans, Khan Bahadurs or their sons, whose misrule in the past has turned the lives of millions of people into a living Hell. These are the people who carouse at night and sleep during the day. Their heads bow before every power except the power of God. They know all about Karl Marx, Hitler and Mussolini; they know all about the philosophy, life and theories of all the intellectuals of Europe, but

they know nothing about the life, character and teachings of the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him). Not to speak of the Orthodox Caliphs, they do not even try to emulate good and virtuous rulers such as Walid bin Abdul Malik, Harun, Mamun, the Saljuks, the Tughlaks, Ghaznavi, Ghauri, Aurangzeb and Tipu. In their palaces they never remember the poverty of the common people. Sitting in their luxurious living rooms, they never think about the problems of the poor. When everything, from administration to industry and commerce, is in their control, what need will they have of thinking about national problems, and how will they lead the country to a bright future?

The house of parliament is not Aladdin's lamp. It is at the most a beautiful building. Problems are not solved just by sitting there. Fear of God, political wisdom and patriotism are the only things that can help in solving national problems. Are these people capable of this--those who go to Europe even for the treatment of their ears and noses, whose children are educated in America, whose bungalows are full of dogs imported from Europe, whose bathroom accessories are also imported? There is no question of their thinking about the welfare of their own country. We have heard of those among them who want to sell their property in Pakistan and settle in Europe because they think this country has no bright future. Can this method of election and this sort of democracy benefit the country?

Ayub Khan had the Election Commission disqualify some people, but what was the result? One Qurayshi brother was disqualified and the other won the 1962 election and is still prominent. Recently, there was a lot of noise about some people getting exposed for their evil doings, and then there was complete silence. Now we have seen many of them strutting about proudly. Sardar Bahader said of a former parliament, "What will become of the garden where a bird of bad omen is sitting on every branch?" He said this at a time when there were still some worthy men in the parliament. But now, as everybody knows, this house is full of the sons of Sahibs, Nawabs and Khans. A rich man of this category could not win a local election in Lahore but was made a member of the Shoora.

We would like to ask the president to remove from the political scene all these families of sycophants who have no political principles or knowledge and are in politics only because of their wealth. Most of their land should be confiscated so that they have only enough to live on. The feudal system is against the teachings of the Holy Prophet of Islam, and Imam Abu Hanifa thought this system to be wrong. Elections should be held only after these white elephants have been removed from politics. Then the candidates for election should be tested on the basis of their sense of duty, grasp of the political situation, capacity for solving problems and freedom from criminal activity. (It is not enough to show a "no objection" certificate from the police.) Nobody should be allowed to hold election meetings, put up posters or give banquets. A candidate should trust the intelligence of the electorate and write his manifesto in a few lines and take it from door to door. There should be no transportation arrangements, and the voters should walk to the polling stations.

Election officers should be chosen from the Department of Justice, and lesser officials of the administration should be present to maintain order at the polling stations. In this way, some good people would be elected, people who would do their work conscientiously. Those who are elected will have to make a statement about the value of their property before they are sworn in; after 2 or 3 years, when time for the reelection arrives, their property should be evaluated again. If anyone is found guilty of having used his position to amass wealth, his property should be confiscated, and he should be given exemplary punishment.

We hope that the president and his election officials will give due attention to this matter. What we have written is for the good of the nation. "We give you good advice; take it or leave it."

12476

CSO: 4656/34



## NWFP: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC SITUATION VIEWED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1-5 Dec 84

[Five part article by Mushahid Hussain]

[1 Dec 84 p 2]

[Text]

*(This is the first in a series of articles on changes in the North-West Frontier Province which have taken place in the last few years. These articles are based on a recent visit to the Frontier, which included discussions with Political leaders, intellectuals, students activists and government officials)*

Once considered as the rugged forbidding Frontier of Pakistan which was, to many travellers, reminiscent of the Wild West of 19th century America, today's North-West Frontier Province presents a profile which is in sharp contrast to the image of yester-years. The new realities of the last few years, especially since 1979, are altering the socio-economic and political landscape of this strategically vital area of Pakistan. Since then there has been a massive influx of refugees from Afghanistan which now total nearly two million living in various parts of NWFP.

The traditional Pakhtoon qualities of resilience, initiative and hard work have been infused with a new dynamism as a consequence of the "Dubai factor." Some 1.2 million Pathans are serving in various parts of the Middle-East and are sending back some 1.5 billion dollars back to their homes in the Frontier Province. These remittances from overseas

Pakhtoons (out of a national total of 3.2 billion dollars) have brought in quite a degree of affluence in various parts of NWFP. Some two million Pathans live in Karachi alone (thereby making it the largest Pakhtoon city!), where they control the transportation and vegetable market plus having a monopoly over security guard services. It is thus no accident that the Sind Cabinet also has a Pakhtoon who serves as minister for labour and transport. Money has also come in from smuggling (there are no less than 22 Baratype markets in the tribal belt which is known by its official acronym as FATA - Federally Administered Tribal Areas - where a variety of smuggled cloth, electronic gadgets and household goods are on sale). Another and more important kind of smuggling is in the highly lucrative narcotics trade.

The NWFP demographic profile is also quite interesting. Out of a total population of 12 million, half is non-Pushto speaking. Hindko (a variant of Punjabi) is spoken in Dera Ismail Khan, Hazara, Abbottabad, Peshawar City, Bannu and Kohat City. People in Chitral speak their own local language.

While Mardan is known to be a rich agriculture district with its principal cash crops - tobacco and sugar cane - being the mainstay of the local economy, some other areas are not so lucky. Districts like Swat, Chitral, Dir, Abbottabad, Malakand and Kohistan are hilly with little cultivable land and hardly any agriculture. The emigration of Pakhtoon labour from different areas thus makes economic sense. Baluchistan's coal mines are

manned almost entirely with labour from Swat while ship-breaking in Gadani (Baluchistan) is also largely a preserve of Pakhtoon labour.

Most of the officially sponsored development efforts have largely been undertaken during the tenure of Lt. Gen. Fazal-e-Haq who took over as NWFP Martial Law Administrator way back in January, 1978. 'The Frontier's "strongman" travels a lot, is known for his candour, is quite dynamic, communicative and accessible. During his tenure the size of the Annual Development Programme (ADP) of the Frontier has nearly doubled. In 1978-79, the Frontier's ADP amounted to Rs. 669 million while in 1984-85 it amounts to Rs. 1224.7 million. Out of this amount, some one-third has been allocated for education and health. But despite these impressive official statistics, Frontier's economic progress, particularly industry, has not been that quick as should otherwise have been the case.

### INFRA-STRUCTURE

Bureaucratic bottle-necks apart, the NWFP still lacks the basic infrastructure necessary to sustain industry on a large-scale. According to Provincial Government sources, of the money sent in by the Federal Government for the last year's development, Rs. 177 crore is lying unutilised for want of projects to invest in. The Frontier has a total industrial labour force of 42,000 (Colony Sarhad Textile Mills in Ismail Kot, Nowshera, employing 2500 labour, being the largest). Much of this labour is cor

centrated in the NWFP's five sugar mills four Ghee mills, two paper mills, one fertiliser factory and the five out of thirteen Textile Mills which are still functioning, the other eight being closed. Textiles — NWFP's single largest labour intensive and export oriented industry — has suffered major break-downs and the scarcity of skilled labour plus lack of infra-structure facilities are having its toll.

According to the President of the Frontier Employers Association, Fawwadul Haq, "the NWFP is the most backward area." According to him, the NWFP could only claim 1.03 per cent of the total amount advanced by the five nationalised and two foreign banks during the last fiscal year. Similarly, the Frontier, during the same period, has been the recipient of only 0.50 per cent of the total loans advanced by PICIC and 0.79 per cent of those released by the ICP. The IDBP has been slightly better giving 10.11 per cent of its total loans to the Frontier Province. Engineering which is the main stay of the industry, has received an investment worth only 50 million out of the total of Rs. 4082 million. He further complained that Planning Minister, Dr. Mehbubul Haq had earmarked eight big projects for the NWFP, but, barring one, there was no progress on any of these.

The crisis in the textile industry of NWFP has caused lot of concern to the All Pakistan Textile Mills Association whose President, Javaid Saifullah Khan has urged the Federal Government to give major economic concessions so that the textile industry is saved from near total collapse. In his view, given such problems as distant location from raw materials and the port city plus scarcity of skilled labour, the Frontier's textile industry was not able to compete with the mills situated in the Sind and Punjab and that is why 5 of the total 13 units were already closed.

## TWO COMPLAINTS

Apart from these irritants, a number of leaders of opinion in the Frontier have a complaint on two specific issues: distribution of waters and the Indus Super Highway. Although the requirement is for 10500 cusec feet of water, the Chashma Right Bank Canal which is currently under construction will only generate 4500 cusec feet of water out of which 2000 cusec feet will go to Dera Ghazi Khan. Dera Ismail Khan which has 1.2 million acres of land to be irrigated will thus be left with a paltry 2500 cusec feet of water. According to economic specialists, if Dera Ismail Khan got its due share, these 1.2

million acres of land would be able to serve as the granary for the entire province. According to one view, Mr. Bhutto in 1972 offered 7000 cusec feet of water but the then Chief Minister of NWFP Mufti Mahmud turned it down saying he wanted nothing short of 10500 cusec feet of water. It is interesting to note that the NWFP's representative on the Water Commission refused to sign the agreement in protest last year.

The other specific complaint pertains to the abandoning of the project of the Indus Super Highway on grounds of "National Security". This project, had it been completed, would have eased communication within the Frontier as well as between it and other areas of Pakistan. It would have cut the distance from Peshawar to Dera Ismail Khan by 70 miles and from Peshawar to Karachi by 300 miles. When the project was finally abandoned some 35 crores were said to have been already spent on its feasibility studies and surveys. According to Wali Khan, this project was first initiated way back in 1954 by the Russians but the Government of Pakistan, being pro-American in orientation, turned it down.

Narcotics smuggling has been an important but somewhat unstated role in generating revenues in the NWFP in the last few years. Although it is very difficult to get statistics and there is a wide dichotomy between what is said by the government and what is alleged by the international drug enforcement agencies, particularly those from the United States, there are enough indicators from the rising number of drug addicts as well as the frequency of seizures of heroin, to view this as a major factor and a problem of serious proportions.

The Drug Abuse Treatment Centre at the Khyber Teaching Hospital in Peshawar had 2 patients only in 1980, in 1981 the figure rose to 55 and in 1982 it was 250. Only last year in March, 1983, one consignment of 421 kg of heroin was seized in Peshawar, which is said to be a world record. The NWFP's involvement is a key component of the "Golden Crescent" (Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan), which is said to be the main source of the international heroin trade. A number of observers feel that because of the unstable situation in Iran and Afghanistan, the drug mafia shifted its operations to Pakistan in the Frontier Province, particularly in the tribal belt where enforcement is somewhat relaxed. The Khyber Agency is supposed to be the main area where these operations are carried out and it is said that opium is refined into heroin

in at least a couple of dozen laboratories functioning there. In January, 1984 an American Congressional Delegation visiting Pakistan said that Pakistan was the biggest exporter of heroin to the United States and the American market got 60 to 70 per cent of its supplies from Pakistan. The Pakistani government view is somewhat different. It says that only 27 per cent of the heroin available in the American market is of Pakistani origin, production is down in Pakistan from 800 tons in 1979 to some 60 tons in 1983 and that from 81,000 acres under cultivation for opium in 1979, now little over 6,000 acres are under cultivation.

Pakistan is said to have a total of one million drug addicts out of which 150,000 are hooked on heroin. The Government also proudly speaks of a successful crop — substitution project in the Buner sub-division of Swat where opium cultivation is said to be eradicated.

## DRUG MAFIA

While concrete evidence has not been forthcoming, there are a lot of rumours circulating that the narcotics trade in Frontier is carried out with the covert blessings of a section of officialdom or influential persons having official blessings. To date, the narcotics haul presents an interesting pattern: there is a big haul which is widely publicised before the press but there is invariably little or no reference to the smugglers who either manage to escape or whose names are normally not disclosed. Names are mentioned only on occasion of incidents which come to light when well-known or wealthy Pakistanis are caught for drug smuggling overseas mostly at European international airports.

The more important aspect to be noted is the manner in which the problem is perceived by the powers that be. There is a significant section of officialdom in the government which sees the narcotics issue as "their problem" and not "our problem." What is implied is that it is not for Pakistan to regulate the production or supply of narcotics since this is a source of livelihood for the people involved in it as well as a major foreign exchange earner, albeit by illegal means. Since drug addiction is a serious problem in the United States, it is for the American Government to take effective measures to check the inflow of heroin and to take steps to bust their own powerful drug mafia-steps which have been lacking to date. The extent of the money involved in the whole operation can be

judged from a small fact: one gramme of heroin in Pakistan which costs only Rs. 60 is sold in the streets of New York at \$3000! The profits in this covert trade are just too big to be even imagined.

A conspiracy theory has also been floated in this context. Speaking before the Majlis-e-Shoora in

July, 1984, the then Interior Minister Mahmood Haroon said: "Some foreign powers, in order to bring a bad name to Pakistan, are busy smuggling narcotics into this country." This statement is yet to be substantiated by hard facts from the government or from any other available source. —(To be continued)

[2 Dec 84 p 2]

[Text]

Economic problems apart, the Frontier Province is quite well integrated, politically as well as economically, into Pakistan. There is neither the kind of alienation nor the sense of deprivation that prevails in parts of Sind and Baluchistan. The Pathans have representation in the power structure, both in the army and civil bureaucracy as well as trade and industry. Their enterprise and dynamism has made them into successful business people who have a deep economic stake in Pakistan.

There is lot of ethnic pride among the Pathans which is manifested by the facility with which Pushto is widely spoken, unlike in Punjab whose elite has a long-standing cultural inferiority complex. In fact, the Pushto language and the uniformity in dress contribute to making Pathan society into quite an egalitarian one where even the police and bureaucracy is comparatively mild and decent, happily free of the "Barra Sahib arrogance" manifested by Punjabi bureaucrats or the notorious strong-arm tactics routinely deployed by the Punjab Police.

The Pakhtoon elite which is essentially the product of two colleges of Peshawar, Islamia and the Edwards college, is a small one whose ties are woven together by strong personal relationships. As the PPP leader, Gen. Nasirullah Babar rightly pointed out: "Ours is a peaceful Province. The Pathan is basically a republican. In the 'Hujra' everybody sits on a charpoy, drinking tea. It is a great equaliser. Politically also our people do not like shouting slogans. Those who come to attend public meetings from the rural areas are keen to go home before sun-set. And unlike Sind and Punjab we do not have a large labour force which is often the mainstay of many a movement. We also have a very low crime rate".

One aspect of Pakhtun Society is that political differences almost never come in the way of personal relations. One expression of this is the relationship between Gen. Fazale Haq and Gen. Nasirullah Babar, who despite being locked up by the former on political grounds, refer to each other by their respective nicknames "Fazli" and "Bob". Both were also class fellows at the Royal Indian Military College in Dehra Dun.

Others also refer to what they see as an inherent pragmatism in Pakhtoon society. As a senior Pathan bureaucrat rightly pointed out: "the NWFP has never really been the centre of major agitational activity against the government. At the most you will see processions or the courting of arrests and even these things take place by mutual arrangement between the opposition and the local administration. The opposition will inform the administration that they will take out a peaceful two-mile long procession which will start at an agreed point and terminate at another mutually agreed point. The opposition will promise not to get unruly and shout slogans while the administration will promise not to disrupt their procession. So the objectives of both are amicably met!"

### PEACEFUL SOCIETY

Another manifestation of this pragmatism is the lack of correlation between violence and the abundance of weapons in Pathan society. For a place where arms are found in such large quantities specially in the tribal area where almost every family has weapons at home, it remains a remarkably peaceful society. Crimes against women — rape or kidnapping which are so common in the Punjab — are rare in NWFP. In fact, as Wali Khan said, "There are two ways to gain a Pakhtoon's lasting enmity, dishonouring his woman or there may be blood-feud which may go on for generations". A unique element linked to infusion of arms in the NWFP has existed in a 15 mile long

tribal belt between Peshawar and Kohat: Dara Adamkhel, the area's biggest arms bazaar. According to Haji Kifayatullah Khan, Director of Education in the Tribal Belt: "I feel safer in the tribal belt than in Mall Road, Lahore. Here the Islamic law — an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, is strictly enforced. Often when two tribes fight here and there is lot of fire, it is not surprising that no one is injured or killed". Interestingly, a number of shops and arms factories in Dara Adamkhel are run by Punjabi families who have settled there for generations. Most of these Punjabis are either from Sialkot or Fateh Jang. According to insiders there, arms factories of Dara Adamkhel produce an average of 100 guns per day.

A copy of the original Russian or Chinese made Kalashnikov is produced in twenty days while the old World War-I Vintage British made 303 takes less than five days to make. Skilled artisans make these weapons and sell them at roughly one-third the price of the imported original. For example while the Soviet-made Kalashnikov costs Rs. 30,000 the Dara-made Pakistani version costs only Rs. 10,000. Similarly, a Soviet made 30 bore revolver fetches Rs. 13,000, while the Pakistani made sells for only Rs. 3,000. According to an insider, the shopkeepers also arrange to have arms and ammunition sent to any part of Pakistan and a delivery to say, Lahore, takes only five days. "Getting it there is our problem", said one shopkeeper. According to another arms merchant, an average shop in Dara Adamkhel earns around Rs. 10,000 per month. There are lot of weapons from Soviet Union, China, West Germany and Spain to be found but American-made arms are few and far between. The Afghan Mujahideen are also engaged in arms transactions, both buying as well as selling weapons. In Dara Adamkhel the popular pastimes are mainly making weapons, drinking tea and offering Namaz, which the Pathan shopkeepers almost never miss.

However, the arms bazar is only one aspect of life in FATA. It is

also a rapidly changing place whose 1972 budget was Rs. 44 lakhs while its 1977 budget skyrocketed to Rs. 30 crores. Currently it has 9 colleges, including 5 Degree ones, and a Cadet College in Razmak, 109 High Schools (8 for Girls), 213 Middle Schools and 1306 Primary Schools. Franchise is still restricted and FATA's 8 National Assembly Seats are elected by some 20,000 voters, all of whom happen to be Malikis nominated by the government and on the official pay roll. The largest Khyber Agency in FATA which has half a million people has a voting strength of 2,700.

### FAZALE HAQ FACTOR

A key element in any calculation regarding NWFP is none other than the Province's longest serving Governor, Fazale Haq. Invariably his photographs adorn the front pages of the Peshawar vernacular press with his thick heavy set frame, often garlanded wearing his Ray Ban dark glasses and "pressing the flesh" politician-style. A keen observer of the Frontier scene who knows Gen. Fazale Haq well says: "He is a combination of diverse personalities. He has Bhutto's fast

moving pace, minus his vindictiveness. He has Qayyum Khan's approach and commitment to development without his pettiness and he imbibes a strong sense of Pakhtoon Nationalism without being anti-Punjabi." Some others say he has political ambitions and insist that one day he will be in active politics.

Of all the Governors in this Martial Law regime, Gen. Fazale Haq probably has the best rapport with the opposition in his Province. He has managed to maintain peace and order in Province which is politically sensitive and potentially volatile given the presence of some 2 million Afghan Refugees. Frontier is the only province in the last seven years where there have been no floggings of dissidents. Any discussion of Frontier politics would be incomplete without taking the 'Fazale Haq factor' into view.

In order to understand the nature of elite relationships in Pakhtoon society, no individual is more representative or better linked than the ageless and extremely charming Begum Kulsum Saifullah Khan. She is a gracious hostess, a good conversationalist and a shrewd

business woman. Her family ties could well form the subject of any social anthropologist's doctoral dissertation. She is the wife and a daughter-in-law of Members of Parliament, mother of two Provincial Cabinet Ministers (one in the previous regime and the other currently in the present one), a member of the once notorious 22 families of Big Capital, sister of a retired Lt. Gen., a former Governor and Ambassador, and a former Federal Cabinet Minister. Of her five sons, one is married to the daughter of former NWFP Governor Lt. Gen. Rakhman Gul, another to Finance Minister, Ghulam Ishaq Khan's daughter and yet another to the daughter of Gauhar Ayub Khan, son of the late Field Marshal. In the 1970 Elections she was member of the NWFP Assembly on behalf of the NAP, then she joined the PPP for espousing whose cause she briefly served a stint as a "State Guest" during the early period of this regime and currently, is a Member of the nominated Majlis-e-Shoora. A widow for the last two decades, she now serves as the matriarch of her own Khattak family. (To be continued)

[3 Dec 84 p 2]

[Text]

For at least a generation after the creation of Pakistan, Pakhtoon politics was largely dominated by the struggle among the old guard of Muslim Leaguers led by Khan Qayyum Khan and the Pakhtoon nationalist Red Shirt Leaders, Ghaffar Khan and his son Wali Khan. It was essentially a continuation of the old pre-partition Muslim League Vs. Congress tussle and the period from 1947 to 1970 was basically a re-run of pre-partition politics among the old guard.

The 1970 elections were important in that they brought in two new elements in Pakhtoon politics, namely the young relatively inexperienced slightly radical politicians of PPP and the emergence of the religious clergy as a political factor under the leadership of the Jamiat Ulema Islam led by Mufti Mahmud. While in the past, famous Pirs like that of Pir Manki Sharif and Zakori Sharif played roles in Pakhtoon

politics, this time religious clergy directly participated and succeeded in achieving a position of its own independently. In the two elections held there in 1970 and 1977, no single party was able to achieve a pre-dominant position in the NWFP and this would be the position were elections to be held today. The only difference being that the Pakhtoon nationalist base seems to have been further eroded by a series of splits and defections, apart from the economic factors and the broader integration of Pakhtoons into the national power structure.

The first major dent in the cause of Pakhtoon nationalism came in 1972 when the Maoist Mazdoor Kissan Party (MKP) led by Afzal Bangash launched a peasant struggle in Hashtnagar on the pattern of the famed Naxalite Movement in India. Although Hashtnagar is now dismissed as a 'land grab movement' by Latif Afridi, an articulate lawyer who heads the NWFP Wing of the Pakistan National Party (PNP) led by Mir Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, this agitation managed to put Wali Khan on the defensive. It also for the first time, introduced the class factor in

Pakhtoon politics, thereby driving a serious wedge in the somewhat monolithic Pakhtoon nationalist framework enunciated by the NAP. Later, the Hashtnagar Movement played into the hands of the Bhutto regime since the PPP wanted to destabilise the NAP in the Frontier and it then encouraged MKP in this regard.

### TOO MODERATE

This erosion was then accentuated by the exit of the Baloch leadership from the NAP as well as the promising Left-wing student leader Afrasiab Khattak in 1978. Ajmal Khattak who defected to Kabul in 1973 and effectively opted out of Pakistani politics also was followed by some Pakhtoon nationalists who viewed Wali Khan as being "too moderate".

Recently the NDP leaders, including Latif Afridi claimed that some important cadres of the NDP have left Wali Khan's fold to join the PNP. Gen. Nasirullah Babar says: "Wali Khan's party has now been confined to two Tehsils, Charsadda and Mardan, from where Wali Khan and Abdul Khaliq Khan come

from respectively. Gen. Fazle Haq rightly says he has demolished the NDP as no one else has. Everybody knows they have been bestowed with favours from this regime. Many of NDP leaders got permits and factories. They do not want elections because they know they will lose. That is why they oppose polls otherwise they will be exposed. They were also apposed to the MRD agitation last year. On August 10, 1983, the NDP leadership was going to be arrested but they phoned the Governor's House and told the Governor that they had nothing to do with the MRD Movement. Wali Khan only has a big image outside NWFP".

Another political minus for Wali Khan has been the influx of two million Afghan refugees all Pakhtoon, who are generally perceived as being sympathisers of Jamat-i-Islami which has been actively engaged in political and other work among them. According to one PNP leader, "Wali Khan is facing a dilemma whether to be a Pakhtoon Nationalist or an all-Pakistan leader. In fact, Wali Khan is banking on Piri-Muridi politics. Those who support him are the same people who like Ghaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars".

It is perhaps in response to this dilemma that the NWFP branch of the NDP has now been renamed as the Pakhtoonkhawa NDP. Another change is that Wali Khan now himself is president of the All-Pakistan NDP in place of Sardar Sherbaz Mazari. But if there is to be a Pakhtoonkhawa NDP, what of the Pakhtoonkhawa NAP which is led by Mahmood Khan Achakzai in Baluchistan. Wali Khan's response:

"actually the split dates back to 1969 during the Round Table Conference in Rawalpindi between Ayub Khan and the opposition. After one of the sessions, I was sitting with Baloch leaders including Bizenjo, Khair Bux Marri and Attaullah Mengal when Abdus Sammad Achakzai walked in. I congratulated him on the decision to set up the province of Baluchistan. He was furious and told me that you have done the greatest dis-service to the Pakhtoons by accepting Baluchistan. We will now be made the slaves of the Baloch. That was when he launched his own separate party".

## STUDENT POLITICS

It was perhaps in recognition of the changing face of Pakhtoon politics that Wali Khan, during the entire period that his party was in power in the NWFP, never once sought the imposition of Pushto as the official language. Rather the NAP was quite content with Urdu being NWFP's official language. Another manifestation of the weakened base of Wali Khan in the NWFP is the diminishing popularity of the NDP students wing, Pakhtoon Student Federation in province's student politics. Once split into three factions, each supporting Wali Khan, Bizenjo and Afrasiab Khattak respectively, the Pakhtoon Students Federation despite being a unified body, is not able to challenge its rival Peoples Student Federation (PSF), which is the student wing of PPP. The PNP has also set up its own student organisation called the Democratic Students Federation (DSF).

According to the PSF Chief, Azam Afridi, "there have been 4 elections in the Peshawar University during this regime and all of these have been won by us. Out of 54 colleges in the Frontier, the PSF controls 38. We co-operate with the DSF, although it is still very small. The Pakhtoon Students Federation has lost out and its support is diminishing". The PSF has also some ideas for cadre building in the PPP as well: "We are trying to weed out the opportunists and the deadwood from among our ranks. The PPP came to power too early. It started in 1968 and was in office in 1971. We do not have time to train our cadre or go through a long struggle". Although Azam Afridi dismisses the current conflict between the Islami Jamiat-i-Tulaba (IJT) and the regime as being "Noora Kushti" (fixed fight), IJT activists present a different perspective and say that "the ban on Student Unions was directed against us". One manifestation of this IJT-regime conflict was the disruption of the public meeting of the President in Peshawar last March by the IJT. How did they do it? "We had 200 of our activists in the main area where the meeting was being held. They were divided into four separate groups with such code names as Al Badr and Al Shams. We also had a rumour-mongering squad which was supposed to spread the word that there were bombs in the stadium so that panic started among the crowd. We raised slogans with a view to provoking the police to lathi-charge us so that the meeting would be successfully disrupted. We achieved our objective". (to be continued)

[4 Dec 84 p 2]

[Text]

The last five years single most important development in the context of the Frontier is the influx of refugees from Afghanistan as a consequence of the Soviet invasion. On an average, about three thousand Afghans are crossing into the NWFP due to the situation in Afghanistan. These two million refugees in NWFP (1.8 million are officially registered with the Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees) are lodged in 235 tentage villages

at 94 points in tribal and settled areas. There are 356,000 registered refugees in Peshawar district who are lodged in 60 camps.

The refugee question has spawned a vast bureaucracy which now employs nearly 6500 people. About 450 crore rupees are spent every year on the maintenance of these refugees, of which fully 50 per cent is subsidised by the government of Pakistan and the rest by international donor agencies or countries. The refugees have created some sort of socio-economic destabilisation in certain

parts of the Frontier but so far they are like the bomb which did not explode although everyone expected it to. The attitude towards the refugees combines elements of fear and a degree of resentment without there being downright hostility towards them. The basic questions asked by people are: Will they go back? What will happen if they don't?

Among the political forces while there is a general empathy for their plight, there is also concern at the possible political fallout of their continued presence in the NWFP. There are irritants over little things such as: they are here to stay, their presence has raised

real estate prices or that they have taken over jobs in certain areas. However, the worst case scenario in this situation has not been realised, although there are constant references to it. The one serious example of their destabilisation influence has been in Parachinar where their presence changed the demographic balance and was a contributory factor in fomenting sectarian riots.

## OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

The concern regarding presence of Afghan refugees is also shared by the government and it is based basically on three counts: the refugee presence may become a law and order issue, either in terms of increasing crime in the region or as a consequence of political infighting among the Mujahideen groups, that there may be agents of the Karmal regime or subversives being infiltrated through them. To date 60 terrorists have been screened out of 61,000 Afghan refugees interrogated during the last four years, while 55,000 of them were released after taking certain guarantees. 64 suspects are still undergoing interrogation. The third fear of the government is that the Afghan refugees might endeavour to sabotage a political settlement reached by Pakistan at Geneva on the Afghanistan question. All the Afghan Mujahideen groups have expressed their opposition to Pakistan pursuing the path of a negotiated settlement.

Stemming from these fears, it seems that the Government's policy towards the refugees is hardening somewhat and more strict vigilance is being exercised on their activities in Pakistan. As regards the basic policy towards the refugees, this has been clearly stated by the Provincial Commissioner for Afghan refugees, Rustam Shah Mohmand: "We have no doubt in our minds that every refugee is willing to return to Afghanistan provided suitable conditions are created for them to go home in security and honour, nor is it our policy to settle them on permanent basis. We have neither persuaded them to come to Pakistan nor can we push them back."

Running such a bureaucracy is naturally quite a headache and thus it is not surprising that so far about 1700 employees have been removed from service from the Commissionerate of Afghan Refugees on charges of malpractice and corruption. About 10,000 refugee bachelors living at different localities in Peshawar have already been shifted out of municipal limits while the shifting of another 5,000 will be completed in about a month's

time. The offices of different Afghan Mujahideen organisations have also been moved out of Peshawar. This action was particularly necessitated after a couple of bomb blasts in Peshawar, largely as a consequence of their own political infighting. Last July there was a bomb blast which killed 13 persons. In July, 1983, the Provincial Commissioner for Afghan Refugees was also changed as he was considered a bit of a partisan on this issue. Finally, the government's hard-line attitude towards the Islami Jamiat-i-Tulaba which is the principal supporter among Pakistani political groups of the Afghan Mujahideen is also seen as being indicative of some change in posture.

Despite the tension with Afghanistan over the issue of Soviet invasion, there is an element of a business-as-usual approach on certain other issues. Pakistan-Afghan trade increased by thirty per cent last year and everyday a Government Transport Service bus carries capacity passengers from Peshawar to Jalalabad. Apart from Embassies in their respective capitals, the two countries continue to maintain Consulates in Jalalabad and Peshawar.

## BULLS AND FROGS

Afghan Refugees are viewed with mixed feelings by the political leaders. The PNP Provincial Chief, Latif Afridi, fears that "the NWFP could be another Beirut" if the Afghan Refugees stay on although he is confident that "80 per cent of them will go back if the Russians withdraw from Afghanistan". Gen. Nasir Ullah Babar says that "most people in the NWFP are not against the Afghan Refugees, since many of the Pakhtoons themselves came from outside and stayed, so there is a feeling of ethnic affinity". Wali Khan while expressing his concern says that the "Afghan Refugees live in very bad living conditions and my daughter who is a doctor tells me that some 80 per cent of the women are suffering from tuberculosis." He feels "at least 25 per cent will go back, if the situation normalises". Wali Khan's concern regarding refugee presence in the Frontier is basically on two counts: They are interfering in Pakistani politics and as a result of their presence, arms are available in abundance in NWFP. Wali Khan's basic charge is that the government has allowed Jamat-i-Islami to function somewhat freely among the Afghan Refugee Camps, a privilege, he says, denied to other political parties. He also feels that the Jamat-i-Islami's connections with

some Mujahideen leaders, in a worst case situation, could serve as a political plus thereby tilting the balance in Jamat's favour. According to Wali Khan, during one particular election in a college in Peshawar, armed men of one of the Mujahideen groups were present in support of the Islami Jamat-i-Tulaba. Wali Khan also feels that arms are now being made available in large quantities in the NWFP and this can one day create a situation for a major blow up. He says that nowadays in NWFP, Kalashnikovs are available on hire for firing in the air during marriage ceremonies and these are even presented as gifts by some people. Wali Khan could one day play a useful role of a go-between between Islamabad and Kabul. Since he has excellent personal relations with Babrak Karmal. While talking of Pakistan's policy on Afghanistan Wali Khan is fond of quoting a Pushto proverb: "When bulls fight, the frogs get crushed."

Activists of Islami Jamat-i-Tulaba are not at all defensive regarding their role in supporting the Afghan Mujahideen. "We support the Afghan Mujahideen, since this is a Muslim struggle against Russia. We particularly cooperate with the Hizbe Islami of Gulbadin Hikmatyar and the Jamiat-i-Islami of Burhanuddin Rabbani. Some of our activists are also volunteers in the Jihad in Afghanistan. However, we are not getting any military training with the Afghan Mujahideen. The bomb blasts against the Afghan Mujahideen was the work of local Communist agents. In fact, recently, a suspect was caught for planting a bomb and he turned out to be a person by the name of Shams Boneri, who is a known worker of PNP".

## ZAHIR SHAH OPTION

An important sympathiser of the Afghan Refugees and their cause is none other than the Governor, Fazale Haq who proudly refers to it as "my Afghan policy". He feels that the Afghan refugee presence in Pakistan has been a boon for the country and the Afghan Mujahideen's struggle is buying time for Pakistan. Therefore, it is something which is directly related to our national security. Notwithstanding the views of the Governor, while many would condemn the Russians for intervening in Afghanistan, a number of people are convinced there is no option other than to seek a negotiated settlement on Afghanistan. In fact the only political party which is publicly opposed to a settlement is the Jamat-i-Islami, while a number of

political parties including such rightwing parties as the Jamiat Ulema Pakistan of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani and Muslim League of Malik Qasim have come out for direct talks with the Karmal regime.

Most observers see the Afghan struggle as a "no-win situation". Others feel that the Mujahideen based in Peshawar are not sincere and that most of them are "wired" to some foreign powers, whose interests they promote. While there are two sets of alliances among Afghan Mujahideen, the Three party alliance and the Seven party alliance — the main issue

among the Mujahideen leadership today revolves around the formation of an Afghan Government in exile under the leadership of King Zahir Shah.

In May 1983, a delegation from Saudi Arabia stayed in Peshawar along with the Chief of Jamat-i-Islami, Maulana Tufail Muhammad, to force the groups into the Seven Party alliance on a "no unity, no money basis". This alliance however proved short-lived and its leader Prof. Abdul Rasul Siyaf is now being condemned by the others as a "crook". The leaders of the Three Party alliance Gilani, Mujadadi and Nabi Mohammadi are

referred to by Gulbadin Hikmatyar as "American Pirs". Recently, the Imam of Ka'aba, Abdullah Bin Subail, was quietly in Peshawar trying very hard to re-impose unity in the ranks of the Seven Party alliance and to get them to agree on the Zahir Shah option which the pro-monarchist Three Party alliance already endorses. However, the chances of having unity among the Mujahideen groups are as remote as are the chances of an early Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan or for that matter, a quick repatriation of the two million refugees based in Frontier Province. — (to be continued)

[5 Dec 84 p 2]

[Text]

All indications point to the absence of a single party's predominance in Frontier politics and the strong probability of Independents emerging on the political scene, should an election be held in the NWFP. These independents would probably be individuals who have strong influence in a particular area courtesy their family, personal connections or wealth. The last two elections were apt indicator of the somewhat confused political scene of the Frontier Province.

During the 1970 election in the National Assembly, the breakdown was as follows: Qayyum Muslim League 3, JUI 6, NAP 3 PPI 1, Jamat-i-Islami 1. In the Provincial Assembly polls of the same year, the results were only slightly different in so far NAP went: NAP 13, QML 11, Council Muslim League 1, Convention Muslim League 2, PPP 3, JUI 5, Jamat-i-Islami 1 and Independents 4.

During 1977 National Assembly Elections, NWFP's share of seats was enhanced to 26, of which 18 went to the PNA and 8 to the PPP. For one thing, it does indicate that the 1977 National Assembly elections in the Frontier were not rigged.

Even the main PPP leader of the NWFP Gen. Baber, concedes that "In case of free elections, we will be the largest single party." There will be lot of Independents and places like Hazara are open territory. Among the old guard which is no more, the names of Maulana Mufi Mahmood and Khan Qayyum Khan come to

mind. Iqbal Khan Jadoon, the NWFP former Chief Minister, who died recently, was also considered a force in Pakhtoon politics. Among those who are considered to be having a good rapport with the Establishment and have some leadership potential for the future are: Arbab Jehangir Khan, Senior Minister of the NWFP Cabinet, Salim Saifullah Khan son of Begum Kulsoom Saifullah Khan and Finance Minister in the Provincial Cabinet and the Abbottabad-based Gauhar Ayub Khan who is actively politicking in Hazara against Raja George Sikandar Zaman, the Federal Minister for Water and Power. A number of observers feel that if there are party-less polls, there will be a triangular contest for the Chief Ministership of the Frontier Province, with the winner being one who has official blessings. All three are representatives of famous political families and carry political as well as economic clout with them.

### NEW ENTRANTS

Among the anti-Establishment politicians, most observers hold Left-wing exiled PNP leader Afrasiab Khattak in high esteem. A former President of the Peshawar University Students Union, 37 year old Afrasiab has a Master's in English plus a Law Degree and is also a veteran of the Hyderabad Conspiracy case. He is currently based in Kabul. He is generally regarded as a promising progressive with a potential for Pakhtoon leadership. The other new entrant in Frontier politics is former Governor Nasir Ullah Baber, who was Bhutto's point-man for the former regime's Afghan policy. A former war

hero, Gen. Baber despite being a new entrant into the PPP has not wavered from his commitment to the party, is generally respected and considered as the "Mr. Clean" of Frontier politics.

Two other could-have-been Prime Ministers and leaders of National stature still have a following and influence on Pakhtoon politics, namely: Wali Khan and Air Marshal Asghar Khan. The latter however, has never been associated or for that matter does not intend to be affiliated with Pakhtoon politics only. It is only that his own constituency is in the Frontier. While Wali Khan and his father, the grand old man of Pakhtoon nationalism continue to reside in their Wali Bagh residence in rural Charsadda, their hopes of playing a major role in National politics seem somewhat limited. Ghaffar Khan is in his 95th year (of which over 30 were spent in prisons). He holds the record for the longest prison terms in the sub-continent. According to his son when Ghaffar Khan went to Czechoslovakia recently for his medical treatment, Czech doctors place his age as well beyond 100. Both these leaders—Wali Khan and Asghar Khan—are now endeavouring to flex their political muscles after a period of hibernation and detention respectively.

While his wife has ceased to be the Vice President of NDP, Wali Khan has now taken charge of the party, "somewhat reluctantly," he says. According to the Provincial PPP President, Aftab Sherpao, Begum Wali Khan's role as Vice President of NDP was not accepted by their party leadership. In fact, Sherpao said the new NWFP NDP Chief Afzal Khan made it clear he would only take over that post



after Begum Wali Khan relinquished charge of the Vice Presidency of the party: "The reason for this is quite simple in that in our Pakhtoon culture, women are not liked by the men to play a prominent political role." The PPP has gained at the expense of the NDP and the Muslim League, the latter having ceased to exist in Frontier.

## ASGHAR KHAN

While all these leaders are grouped into the MRD, there is profound suspicion among all of them regarding the role of the Tehrik-i-Istiqal. Aftab Sherpao feels that in case of party elections, "Tehrik-i-Istiqal will certainly take part." According to an NDP leader, when the MRD was having its main meeting in Peshawar at which they decided on a boycott of any election held by the regime, "Tehrik-i-Istiqal was at first unwilling to sign the joint declaration. It was only after some prodding from us and thinking among themselves that they agreed to go along with the MRD stand on elections." Air Marshal Asghar Khan puts it in a different light. "The only difference of the Tehrik-i-Istiqal with the MRD is regarding the question of boycott of elections. The MRD only talks of the 1973 Constitution, while we subscribe to the 1979 election rules under which transfer of power was envisaged. We are the only component party of the MRD which registered under those election rules. Although we did not fully agree with the election rules of 1979, we still went along with these reluctantly since these elections were aimed at transfer of power. We just cannot reverse our party's 1979 policy decision. We want purposeful elections. Although we do not think that the proposed elections will be of that variety, but if they are, we will take part in them even if the MRD does not."

Discussing the Air Marshal's recent tour of NWFP which was his

first after his release from a five year long detention. Tehrik-i-Istiqal's NWFP President Munir Shah says that we deliberately kept the tour in "low key," as we did not want to provoke the government into re-imposing the ban on Air Marshal Asghar Khan. The purpose was for Asghar Khan to meet party workers." The Tehrik-i-Istiqal is also busy trying to build more of a cadre-based organisation in the Frontier with party workers being encouraged to take part in studies circle type sessions on political issues. Gen. Nasirullah Baber's view of Air Marshal Asghar Khan's tour as well as the Tehrik are somewhat different, but quite candid at the same time. "The fact of the matter is that most of the other MRD parties are more scared of us than they are of the regime. There is no doubt that Air Marshal Asghar Khan had a disappointing visit to the Frontier province. In any place where he went not more than 300 persons welcomed him. Recently, when our Provincial party leader Aftab Sherpao went on a tour, anywhere between three to five thousand people showed up. The Tehrik-i-Istiqal is a young party. It is all names. In August, 1978, when Mr. Bhutto was in jail, he sent me to see Air Marshal Asghar Khan with a message of cooperation and a joint front against the regime. When I asked Air Marshal Asghar Khan to lead a movement against the regime, he refused point blank. He said, he was tired and then he added that General Zia was a pious, God-fearing and honest person. He would certainly hold elections, Air Marshal Asghar Khan told me. Then the next time I met him was on a plane in October 1979 after he was arrested following the announcement to cancel the elections. We were travelling on the same flight. The Air Marshal told me 'we must do something.' General Zia is not holding the elections. I reminded him of our August 1978 meeting. Then he kept quiet."

## LONG STRUGGLE

While it is easy to criticise any politicians' given stand on an issue, it is important to note that there are limits to his patience and his capacity to continue struggling infinitely without seeing any light at the end of the tunnel. Asghar Khan has done precisely that for the last sixteen years, while Wali Khan has done it for the last thirty years.

Regarding possibilities for the future, Wali Khan said that he had received a message from Begum Nusrat Bhutto via Khwaja Khairuddin who had met her in London recently. "It was a three-point message": i) Let us forgive and forget, ii) Let us have an alliance and iii) Let us start a movement against the regime. I gave a point-by-point answer. As Pakhtoons, I said, we are very consistent and principled people. We are either with somebody all the way or we are against somebody all the way. It is not easy for us to forgive and forget what Bhutto did to us. We cannot ever forget the crimes Bhutto committed, but we are prepared to forgive if there has been a genuine change of heart in the PPP. As regards an alliance, I told him that barring the PPP, all the parties in MRD already had an alliance in UDF and the PNA. So it is not for us, it is only upto the PPP to come forth and join us. As regards a movement against the Martial Law regime, it is simply not possible. Let us be very clear, you cannot dislodge a military regime through a movement. I knew it before even the MRD movement started and now the results are before you. The only thing which worries me is that the regime can slander and malign the politicians and we will all be discredited in the eyes of the people. But what happens if people do not just simply lose faith in us but also in our methods which are constitutional, peaceful and democratic, and then the option will be clear for all to see." -CONCLUDED).



CHINESE CULTURAL DELEGATION VISITS

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Dec 84 p 2

[Text]

KARACHI, Dec. 12: The leader of the visiting three-member Chinese Folk Art and Literature Study Group said here on Wednesday that Pakistan and China share common cultural and artistic heritage.

Mr. Lan Hungren, Member of the Standing Committee, National Council for Folk Art and Literature and Vice-President of the Council of Guangxi Autonomous Region for Folk Art and Literature Study, speaking at the Arts Council of Pakistan said that folk tales of Pakistan and China are common.

He said the Art Museum in Islamabad has a painting of Buddha and the style of the art is Chinese like.

Handicrafts and embroidery work on textile and skin is done in China in three colours — red, green and yellow which is similar to Pakistani style.

During their visit to Hunza, the leader said, they saw carved rocks

which says that China had sent an ambassador to the State as far back as 5 century A.D.

Mrs. Zhao Chang-gon, a Member of the China Society for the Study of Folk Literature and Art and one of the members of the delegation said Pakistan was rich in the folk art and literature.

In Pakistan, she said, the future is very bright in the field of folk art and literature, because people love their traditions and culture.

She said, although the delegation had no opportunity to see folk art performances during their 15-day tour but heard the folk singers in Islamabad using traditional musical instruments.

The third member of the delegation was Mr. Liao Dengfan, Vice-President, Council of Tibet Autonomous Region for Folk Art and Literature Study.

The delegation will leave for home on Thursday.

CSO: 4600/146

## DEVELOPMENT OF RAIL, ROAD LINKS WITH IRAN URGED

GF161825 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Nov 84 p 4

[Editorial: "New Pakistani-Iranian Accord"]

[Text] Pakistan and Iran have now hammered out a new accord to institutionalise their multi-dimensional cooperation on a long-term basis. Elaborate discussions held for the first time within the framework of a joint ministerial commission have apparently provided a good opportunity to review in depth the pace of their economic relations over the past 5 years and to explore new avenues to tap their full potential against the background of new regional developments and economic compulsions for both sides.

Though there has been a dramatic expansion in their trade relations since the Islamic Revolution, a detailed formal long-term framework was lacking so far to promote them on more enduring basis. This has now been provided through a 3-year arrangement to ensure constant exploration of new ideas and proposals as well as to remove bottlenecks. Indeed it is time to plan ahead and not let things be regulated merely by immediate and short-run requirements.

Apart from specifying a broad list of commodities which the two sides will endeavour to exchange to enlarge their trade, the agreement also incorporates Pakistan's decision to import 100 buses from Iran on ad hoc basis to test their suitability for use in Pakistan. This is a right move to help Iran to correct some of the imbalance which has crept in the two-way trade because of Pakistan buying far less than what Iran has been importing from here. Oil is not mentioned in the new accord as it is regulated by a separate arrangement between the two sides. Iran must also offer some fresh commodities for marketing in Pakistan. According to the new accord, these may include liquid gas cylinders, windscreens for cars, chemicals, glass, wool, wool, sulphur and medicines.

While government-to-government trade between the two sides witnessed a quantum jump in recent years, there is still considerable untapped scope for pushing private sector exchanges. A more active pursuit in this sphere can also go a long way in correcting whatever disequilibrium now exists in the two-way trade.

Apart from trade, comprehensive exchange of views between the two sides at the expert level during the last few days should also give a new impetus to projects

which would ensure long-term development of road and rail links plus telecommunications. The future of their economic ties is above all linked with progress in this sphere. One major rationale for their close trade and economic collaboration is their geographical proximity and land-rail link. They must not waste any more time to exploit its full potential for mutual benefit.

CSO: 4600/155

## RAW COTTON PRODUCTION SAID RECORD HIGH

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Dec 84 Business Supplement p 1

[Text]

KARACHI, Dec 12: Picking of the 1984-85 cotton crop has reached the half-way stage and country-wide figure show that the arrival of raw cotton bales at ginning units upto Dec 1 is the highest on record for comparable periods.

Official sources, quoting a report by the All-Pakistan Ginners Association, said 2.73 million bales of raw cotton had been received at ginning factories throughout the country since the start of the cotton picking season upto Dec 1, 1984.

For comparison, in the 1982-83 financial year (when overall cotton production reached record figures), the arrival of raw cotton bales at ginning factories during the same period was 2.24 million bales.

Last year, when cotton output was adversely affected by a combination of bad weather and pest attacks, 1.41 million bales were received by the ginners upto Dec 1, 1983,

### Record delivery

The sources maintained the record delivery of 2.73 million bales of raw cotton to the ginning factories from late October till the

beginning of this month gave solid indications that the overall cotton production target for the 1984-85 financial year will meet the goal of 5.2 million bales.

The overall 1984-85 cotton production target, if achieved, will be the highest ever.

The sources said the second picking of cotton was more or less complete in lower and middle Sind, slightly over the half-way mark in upper Sind and approaching this figure in southern Punjab.

According to the sources the cotton crop in virtually all regions was good, but in upper Sind it was described as of particularly high quality so far.

Given normal weather the cotton production target of 5.2 million bales for 1984-85 should be met, they added.

### Support price

The sources also said despite the arrival of large numbers of raw cotton bales at the ginning factories the minimum support price would not be permitted to fall below the Government-fixed figure of Rs 181 per maund for the Sind NT variety

and Rs 189 per maund for B-557 of Punjab.

Meanwhile a leading member of Karachi Stock Exchange has predicted that the country would be reaping a bumper cotton crop this financial year.

The same source said, that the province of Sind produces one-third of the entire cotton crop of the country. He added the present bumper crop is due to the efforts of the present Government in providing pesticides, loans, fertilisers and other inputs to the cotton cultivators.

The production of cotton seed will also go up and thereby increase the availability of cotton seed oil for the banaspati industry. Hence, there would be a sharp reduction in the import of soyabean and palm oil during the current year.

He further said, a large percentage of sick mills are to be found in the cotton textile sector. Now, trade circles are hopeful that due to this year's bumper cotton crop and competitive price of lint cotton in the market, many sick cotton mills shall start functioning in the near future.—APP

CSO: 4600/147

NEW HOUSING PLANS FOR SIND BEING PREPARED

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Dec 84 Business Supplement p I

[Text]

HYDERABAD, Dec 12: An amount of Rs 2.0 million was being spent on survey and mapping of 20 small towns and key villages in Sind, from which work on Thatta and Gharo has been completed while of Rato-Dero, Shikarpur, Dadu, Jacobabad and Kandhkot is to be completed during current financial year.

Stating this, the Director, Town Planning Department, Government of Sind informed that outline development plan for six towns in Sind with a cost of Rs 2.69 million have been completed while topographical as well as pre-planning survey, including socio-economic

survey, housing, traffic, land use condition of building etc of Larkana, Nawabshah and Tando Allahyar have been started.

Regarding general housing schemes, he said that Rs 21.221 million was being spent on Mirpurkhas housing scheme, Rs 16.195 million on Tando Allahyar housing scheme and Rs 17.476 million on Tando Muhammad Khan housing scheme was being spent.

The Director Town Planning added that 251 plots of different category have been allotted through ballot in Mirpurkhas housing scheme while work on other schemes was in progress.

## FORMER AIR FORCE CHIEF WARNS OF INDIAN ATTACK

Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Nov 84 p 6

[Article: "India Will Attack Pakistan at the First Opportunity"]

[Text] Islamabad Correspondent's dispatch--Former air force chief Zulfiqar Ali Khan was a guest at the Tawalpindi press club. Some excerpts from his speech to the club are included here. The former air force chief said that it was essential to strengthen our army and to normalize our western border as well as gain people's support. He said that Pakistan and India have been enemies since 1947. India wants to be the regional leader because of its size. India is important because of its geographical location. A third reason is its economic problems, as a result of which it tries to divert attention to Kashmir and the Sikh problem. It does not hesitate to involve Pakistan in these. Whatever the problem, it accuses Pakistan for it. He does not think that the Indian attitude will change now that Indira Gandhi is gone. India always has been looking for an opportunity to attack Pakistan; we must make sure that we do not provide this opportunity. He added that Pakistan did propose a nonaggression pact to India but the latter in response proposed a friendship and cooperation agreement. Referring to Afghanistan, the former air force chief said that there should be some quick solution to this problem. Any delay will only aggravate the situation. He added that the Mujahidin's effort was not bearing fruit as they have neither unity nor modern weapons. He compared their struggle to the Vietnamese struggle. He went on to say that the Geneva talks can be successful only if the United States and the USSR agree. Our region is the only region on which the two superpowers have not agreed. That is why this region is in chaos. The Iranian revolution and the Russian aggression in Afghanistan have left the two superpowers thinking. Since Pakistan is situated in this region, it cannot but be effected by any political change in the area. We must find a political solution to the Afghanistan problem. Talking about politics, the former air chief said that he is an apolitical person and has nothing to do with politics. However, he felt that the elections in our country should be held on a nonparty basis.

7797

CSO: 4656/36

PIR PAGARA PROFILE FINDS MUSLIM LEAGUE INEFFECTUAL

Karachi JANG in Urdu 26 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Abdul Qadir Hasan: "Another Birthday"]

[Text] Pir Sahib Pagara, former president of Pakistan's Muslim League, has been giving special attention to his birthdays for the last few years. Some Muslim Leaguers say that had Pir Sahib given similar attention to the Muslim League, this party would have been in a better shape. The Muslim Leaguers that I met at his 56th birthday party were of such deplorable calibre that I wondered if he should have celebrated his birthday at a junk yard instead of in the posh hotel Gulbarg. These old people were not even able to lift their piece of cakes. The number of old-timers in the Muslim League is increasing. The existence of a large number of old people could be considered good in a family, but they are not good for getting votes. This is a time for young people, not for old people. Pir Sahib is 56 years young. His walk and his talk show youth, but he pays no attention to the youth. Apparently, he does not think the elections will be held. So the company of old people is fine with him. However, they do all love their country. This ingredient is rare, and these old people would like to preserve it at any cost.

Pir Sahib's birthday party has become an annual political affair. He may have been celebrating his Birthdays for a long time, but it was a few years ago that he made these celebrations into important events. This coincided with the ban on all political gatherings. Who can ban a birthday party? The implementers of martial law were helpless watching Pir Sahib receive gifts and feed his guests. All of his guests are well known. Who can stop a Muslim Leaguer from attending their president's birthday party? Our rulers are not angry at Pir Sahib's birthday parties. They are not worried about a harmless party like the Muslim League. They considered it a big feast and Pir Sahib continued to call it a feast. A feast cannot be banned no matter where it takes place.

On his 56th birthday the big feast was there, but the problem was that most of the old guests could not even stand with a plate in their hands. Some of them could not even eat much, so guests like me had their fill. I had gone without a gift and returned with his thanks and good wishes. Pir Sahib looked very happy. Being happy is his habit. Deep down,

however, no one is as sad as he is. He is worried and helpless. I will not go into his worries. Only Pir Sahib can hide the pain and anger that he feels about the problems of our country. He tries to hide it by being gay and feeding people. In any case, participation in Pir Sahib's birthday party gave me the feeling of being at a political convention. Such gatherings are dream-like now. A journalist like me who has spent his entire life attending political meetings feels as if he were trapped in a nauseous fortress. I hate to leave my house. There used to be political get-togethers at Malik Jeelani's place but these stopped with his death. Pir Sahib celebrates his birthday every year. He should celebrate it several times a year for political purposes. It gives us opportunities to meet the people we always want to meet. A fellow columnist, S.M. Zaffar, expressed his delight on seeing me at a political meeting. If the secretary general of the Muslim League finds me missing from a political gathering then our political life is totally barren. There is no living being in this political jungle.

Even during this unfortunate time, the Muslim League party is alive enough to win more seats should there be elections on a party basis. No matter how weak the Muslim League is as a party, it still rules people's minds. Pakistanis by tradition cannot forget the Muslim League, even though its leaders make them suffer. The Muslim League is the party that made Pakistan and led it during the first years of its existence. Then the tide turned. Its leaders went astray and there were no good models. Perhaps you still remember that when Ayub Khan, chief administrator of the first martial law regime, formed his own Muslim League party, several cohorts of Quaid-e Azam were also members. But let us forget these painful episodes and go back to Pir Sahib's birthday party, where the cake also weighed 56 pounds. This is more than the weight of all Muslim Leaguers combined. Only Pir Sahib can take credit for trying to gather the lost sheep. He talks to them, feeds them and gives them hope to stay alive until the next birthday party. This is a credit to Pir Sahib's popularity that all of these people show up for his party at their own expense. It gives them an opportunity to get a load off their mind. Pir Sahib listens to their speeches all day long with patience. He interjects one-liners in between. He meets older people with respect and younger people with affection. Bidding them farewell, he assures them that Pakistan belongs to the Muslim League and will continue to belong to it.

I remember like yesterday the day when Pir Sahib became president of the Muslim League. He was like a shot in the arm. Pir Sahib had the goal to unite the three factions of the party. At that time, Pir Sahib had confided in me that his sole purpose in life was to be able to participate in a convention of a united Muslim League party. He would leave once that goal was achieved. We all know that circumstances have forced Pir Sahib into the presidency of the Muslim League, and he is now forced to celebrate birthday after birthday. May God make it possible for him to retire and live in peace.

7997

CSO: 4656/40



## NEED FOR TECHNOLOGY ANALYZED

GF161830 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Sloganeering in Science and Technology"]

[Text] Former deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, Prof Khurshid Ahmad, does not want Pakistan to become "a dustbin for the discarded technologies of the West." And the former chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, Dr I. H. Usmani, is even more rhetorical in urging Pakistan to benefit by the scientific and technological revolutions as well [as] the agricultural and industrial revolutions in the world. He exhorts Pakistan to shop from "the supermarket of international technology" and buy only the very best so as to achieve a quantum jump in economic development. These two men are among the many in the technological field who come up with such exhilarating slogans. And Dr Usmani, as adviser to the UN, visits Pakistan once a year, rings the alarm bells and takes off without giving us even an elementary blue-print of what he wants the country to do in specific terms with the cost.

The advice of such men is undeniably valid, but it takes more than slogans or sermons to achieve what they are urging. Of course, the latest in technology costs a great deal of money even if the countries who have come up with inventions are ready to part with them. And when the money is forthcoming or could be mobilised through determined efforts, we need men who can make a success of the latest technology. Our technological institutions from the polytechnics to the engineering universities should be able to produce the right kind of technical personnel to manage the new high-tech. But while a few polytechnics remain closed, others are not faring far better because of the restlessness among the students. The engineering colleges and universities too are closed from time to time to keep their students away from varied protest movements. The kind of high-efficiency personnel needed to make a success of modern technology are not being produced in sufficient numbers in Pakistan today, and most of those who are, go abroad to work.

Similarly, Pakistan cannot make rapid headway in the area of industrial revolution using the latest techniques if there is lasting shortage of power, gas and water. Even in the consumer sector, too many of the latest equipment gets burned out because of the fluctuation in power supply. There are limits to the number of voltage regulators which the consumers can use because of their high cost and other inconveniences.

Modern gene-tech, or genetic engineering, can work wonders in the agricultural sector. But this demands high-cost inputs and their scientific application. Otherwise the results can be counter-productive. But the bulk of the farmers are illiterate and too poor, and the cooperative movement, which can make up for both the deficiencies partly, is tragically a dismal failure in Pakistan.

What happens when Pakistan shops for the latest technology was amply illustrated when it began its 20-year old search for a steel mill. Pakistan wanted the more modern technology of the U.S. but the U.S. officials told Pakistan it ought to be concentrating more on agriculture, and less on the steel which it could import. Similar was the response from European states. Ultimately, the Soviet Union obliged and the steel mill came through Western diplomats still decry the technology of the Karachi mill as "out-dated and uneconomic" but by denying their own technology they left Pakistan with no choice.

While modern technology is highly productive, it is essentially an integrated technology. It needs the right infrastructure by way of personnel and adequate service before it can yield full results. Otherwise countries which buy such technology at a high cost, when available for export, can come to grief, as some of the heavily debt-ridden Latin American countries have, and be left with factories which do not produce.

Dr Usmani calls for a 15-year programme for adopting the best technology "which must be acquired at any cost." This again is easier said than done, for in a poor country cost is often the determining factor. Aid is seldom available for the latest technology in the West, and in a country in which even moderately ambitious 5-year plans crash, a 15-year plan is a big leap. Any kind of technological revolution cannot come unless funds are diverted from the present to the future, and there is an integrated national approach to it instead of occasional isolated and shrill slogans.

CSO: 4600/155

BRIEFS

LEADER OUSTED FROM SIND--Karachi, Dec 12--Malik Mohammad Qasim was externed on Tuesday night from the province of Sind for a period of 60 days. He was taken to the airport in police custody, but as no seat was available on the night coach he was put up at Hotel Midway House. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 13 Dec 84 p 2]

ACCOMPLICES OF SABOTEUR ARRESTED--Peshawar, Dec 12--The Peshawar police have arrested two accomplices of saboteur Amanullah, earlier described as a KGB agent and arrested from Tehkal, a suburb of Peshawar. Some explosives and contraband firearms and ammunition have been recovered from the house. The alleged accomplices, Hazrat Wali and Mohammad Younus, arrested from a house in Tehkal, also allegedly came from Afghanistan for terrorist activities. Amanullah is reported to have not yet made a confessional statement. A special police team is investigating. Meanwhile, police sources have said that for the time being nothing can be definitely said about Amanullah's links with the KGB. The accused is now remanded to police custody. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 13 Dec 84 p 3]

FORMER BALUCHISTAN GOVERNOR--Islamabad, Dec 12--Lt-Gen Sardar F.S. Lodhi, the former Governor of Baluchistan, has not been retired from the Army service, an official spokesman said here on Wednesday. Lt-Gen K.K. Afridi was sworn in as Governor of Baluchistan in place of Lt-Gen Lodhi last Sunday. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 13 Dec 84 p 16]

IDEOLOGY COUNCIL RECOMMENDATION--Lahore, Dec 9--The Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) has recommended to the government to consult it (CII) in the formulation of any regulation or law "so that the objective of bringing all legislation in conformity with the Shariah is not defeated." While examining section 26 of the West Pakistan Family Courts Act 1964, the CII observed: "This recommendation should not be deemed to be pertaining to any specific law. This is a general recommendation under which the CII's consultation is necessary whenever any ministry or department formulates a law or a regulation." The CII has also recommended the repeal of section 23 of the said Act which prohibits the validity of marriages registered under this Act from being challenged in any family court. The CII is of the view that this section should be repealed in view of the irregularities being committed in the registration of marriages. "It is often heard that a back-dated 'nikah nama' is obtained by greasing the palm of the nikah registrars," the CII observed. A number of changes have been suggested in other sections of this Act. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Dec 84 p 12]

NASRULLAH MEETS JUI AMIR--Lahore, Dec 9--Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Rao Abdur Rashid called on the Amir, Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Maulana Siraj Din Puri, at the Jamia Madnia here on Sunday. Maulana Siraj Puri who came here to see Maulana Asad Madani is staying at the Jamia Madnia, Karim Park. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Dec 84 p 2]

ARRESTED FOR CRITICIZING REFERENDUM--Lahore, Dec 9--According to the defunct Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, the Khatib of Jamia Masjid, Hafizabad, Maulama Mohammad Altaf, was arrested after Friday prayers for criticising the referendum. The Jamiat claimed that in Khuzdar and other districts of Baluchistan, many khatibs had been arrested. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Dec 84 p 2]

PROSPECTS FOR OIL SUFFICIENCY--Multan, 10 Dec--Pakistan can achieve self-sufficiency in oil requirement in the near future in view of bright prospects of discovery of oil in the new fields in the country. This was stated by Dr Asad Mohammad Khan the minister for petroleum and natural resources, here this evening. The minister told newsmen here this evening that there were bright prospects of discovery of oil and gas at Panj Pir in Multan Distt. He said that results of experimental drilling operations at Panj Pir would be known within 20 days. He stated that drilling work of a second well at Nand Pur was expected to be over very soon. [Text] [Rawalpindi PAKISTAN TIMES in English 11 Dec 84 p 7 GF]

FOREIGN-MADE ROCKETS SEIZED--Quetta, 10 Dec--A customs mobile squad recovered eight foreign-made rockets, along with their tubes, during a raid organised in the hilly area of Ajram, about 35 kilometres from Quetta, on Sunday. The rockets were believed to have been smuggled into the country from across the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. The customs squad was on vigil as part of a special campaign launched to check ammunition from being smuggled into the country. According to information available in Quetta, the squad while patrolling the hilly tracts of Ajram noticed two persons moving about suspiciously, and challenged them. However, they threw away the bundles they were carrying and escaped. The bundles contained eight foreign-made rockets and tubes. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Dec 84 p 1 GF]

SAFDAR COMMENT ON HAROON--Lahore (Correspondent's dispatch)--Khwaja Mohammad Safdar, chairman of the Majlis-e Shoora, declared that he honestly feels he should retire from politics as he is very old and has been in politics for a long time. Khwaja Safdar announced this in a special interview with JANG. Referring to accusations by Shoora members Pir Mohammad Ashraf and Saeed Mayun-ul Din that Mehmood Haroon is surrounded by politically insolvent characters and that there was no peace during his leadership, Khwaja Sahib said that he did not agree with them. He added that he did not believe Mehmood Haroon to be sectorian or irresponsible. Commenting on Mr Haroon's meetings as chairman of the election committee with various politicians, Khwaja Safdar said that Mr Haroon was doing exactly what was expected of him. In reply to another question, Khwaja Sahib said that he was not preparing any list of election candidates but he would be happy to cooperate with his associates in the Shoora should they run for election. Discussing Mrs Indira Gandhi's assassination and Rajiv Gandhi's becoming prime minister, he said that he did not believe that Pakistan overdid its expression of good wishes to India; these were timely and appropriate. [Text] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Nov 84 p 6]

MARXIST LITERATURE IN SIND--In the interior of Sind, where saboteurs under the guise of dacoits, protected by some supporters and leaders of the former ruling party, caused unrest in the country and inflicted on innocent people loss of life and property, we now hear reports of wide-scale publication in Sindhi language of Marxist literature and its distribution there. This literature is being distributed in those areas which are centers for sabotage. This literature also includes some works of Marxist Indian scholars. A large-scale disturbance occurred in this area lately in the name of MRD. If you look at it from this view point then you will realise that publication and distribution in Pakistan of literature opposed to the ideology of Pakistan is very meaningful, especially at a time when the process of Islamization is in full swing in the country. It requires the full attention of the government. Full notice should also be taken of those persons engaged in these activities. [Editorial: "Wide-Scale Distribution of Marxist Literature"] [Text] [Lahore JANG in Urdu 11 Dec 84 p 4 GF]

PIRZADA ELECTED ICO SECRETARY GENERAL--ASSOCIATED PRESS OF PAKISTAN, quoting the Yemeni News Agency, says that Sharifuddin Pirzada [of Pakistan] has been elected the secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization for a 4-year term. The election was held during a closed-door meeting of the Islamic foreign ministers' conference in Sanaa. Shamsud Doha of Bangladesh was another candidate for this post. Pirzada will succeed Habib Chatti, whose term of office expires toward the end of this month. His term of office was extended by 1 year at the fourth Islamic summit conference in Casablanca. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 19 Dec 84 BK]

CSO: 4656/52

TAMIL GUERILLA LEADERSHIP, ORGANIZATION, SUPPORT DETAILED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Dec 84 pp 9-10

[Article by Erhard Haubold: "The Entire Tamil Nation Is Becoming a Nation of Tigers"]

[Text] Madras, 2 Dec--The feminist and the social science professor are responsible for explaining the intellectual underpinnings; the bombs are placed by others. Nirmala Nithiyanandan was freed from Batticaloa prison in eastern Sri Lanka by "Tiger" partisans. Prof Balasingham quit his job at London University to serve "the cause" of an independent state of "Eelam" which the militant Tamils want to create in northern Sri Lanka with help of bombs, dynamite and partisan warfare. Nirmala and the professor are responsible for ideology and propaganda and are both members of the "political committee" of the liberation organization "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" (LTTE), which commonly goes by the name of "Tigers."

Nirmala was the first woman to be arrested under the "Prevention of Terrorism Law." She spent 20 months in solitary confinement; first at Welikade Prison in Colombo and then in Batticaloa. When a different group of partisans made a first attempt to liberate her in September 1983, Nirmala had to stay behind because her "liberators" had lost the keys to the women's wing of the prison. That tells us something about the capability of some of the organizations but it also tells us something about the police which was unable to prevent the second attempt. That attempt succeeded and Nirmala was taken to South India; but she will not say whether the escape route led along the coast (a distance of more than 200 kilometers) or clear across Sri Lanka. It took some doing under any circumstances and it must have been backed up not only by skillful planning but also a great deal of sympathy among the civilian population.

LTTE may not be the largest of the half dozen more important "liberation organizations; but it is the oldest and best trained and best led from a military standpoint. All of these groups operate out of the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu, which is only 2 hours by boat from their homeland. Their political goal is an independent Tamil state. It is estimated that the "Tigers" have 500 fighters at their disposal who are led by their 30 year-old "commander" Prabhakaran whom Balasingham calls a "military

genius." But since Prabhakaran hardly speaks any English, he rarely appears in public. Prabhakaran and Uma Maheshwaran were the founders of the "Tamil Tigers" which first surfaced in 1972. The two later had a falling out and even traded shots on a busy Madras street. Today, Maheshwaran (who is just under 40) heads PLOT, the People's Liberation Organization of Tamileelam, which is said to number 2,800 partisans--175 of them trained by the PLO in Lebanon.

PLOT has attracted attention by staging a prison break and by operating a seaborne radio station off the coast of Sri Lanka. The attack on the Chavakachchhari police station in which 30 policemen were killed was staged by TELO, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization, founded by Kuttimani who is said to first have blinded his Singhalese fellow prisoners at Welikaden Prison and then to have killed them. This happened during the course of the severe race riots which shook Sri Lanka in July 1983. TELO numbers 900 partisans and has of late been operating in conjunction with two other groups, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front or EPRLF (numbering some 600 fighters) whose aims appear to be ideological rather than military and the Eelam Research Organization or EROS (numbering 200) which was founded in London by Trotskyite families from Sri Lanka and has international contacts. The EPRLF is made responsible for the kidnapping a few months ago of the Allens, an American man-and-wife team of development aid experts; the Tamil Eelam Army (TEA) is accused of having committed a bank robbery in the vicinity of Batticaloa and of being responsible for the devastating bomb explosion at Madras airport which did great harm to the partisans' reputation.

There are many groups; in fact there are too many. Coalition talks which might enhance the fighting strength of the groups have been going on for months but have been difficult particularly among the leaders. The "Tigers," who are a cadre party, believe in small, mobile, hard-hitting combat teams. PLOT and EPRLF, on the other hand, view themselves as political parties appealing to the masses and therefore wish to raise political awareness among the population first--before resorting to bombs. "Our guerilla fighters have placed land mines on the main road from Mannar to Poona-gari [in northern Sri Lanka]," a report in the monthly "Voice of the Tiger" magazine states. "When the military convoy approached, the whole business exploded. One jeep was thrown through the air for 10 meters and torn to pieces. 13 soldiers died immediately." The magazine also reports that "a war has started" on Jaffna peninsula in northern Sri Lanka. "Tamil Eelam has turned into a mass grave for the Singhalese [the members of the majority] soldiers." Not a word is said about the inevitable and frequently very brutal countermeasures and retaliatory strikes by the army under which the civilian population almost exclusively has to suffer. By then, the partisans have long since disappeared in the direction of South India once more. The "Tigers" kill soldiers, who then kill civilians who in their turn cannot be protected by the guerillas. "We fight while the others merely talk," the LTTF says. Prof Balasingham does not sidestep

the issue but does point out that the villagers "are asking for more (terrorist) attacks. The people are so mad that the entire Tamil nation is turning into a nation of tigers." How else to explain the support given to the partisans by the population; how else could the partisans mine entire road networks and prevent the soldiers from leaving their barracks ? [he asks]

There are hardly any differences of opinion regarding the aims of the guerrilla activities. Their goal is an independent Tamil Eelam: a socialist, anti-imperialist state with friendly relations to its big neighbor, India. For that goal, Balasingham says, they are prepared to fight to the last man. That goal is non-negotiable. After all, he says, the Tamils have been waiting 30 years for the Singhalese-dominated government in Colombo to revoke minority discrimination in education, in the civil service and in the army. Following the big race riots in July 1983, the Marxist, "progressive" vocabulary seems to have increased among most of the groups. All of them speak of the end to exploitation; of equality and a bloc-free policy; of close relations with countries such as Mexico and Cuba, with anti-Zionist organizations, with the PLO, the African National Congress and SWAPO—from none of which any weapons are needed. The guns, Balasingham says, are obtained from the Singhalese soldiers. The "Tigers"—and not only they—are organized along Marxist lines, with a central committee which is elected every 3 years (its chairman is Prabhakaran), a military council and a political committee.

Most of the "revolutionary intellectuals," Balasingham says, and most of the greatest intellects of Jaffna are probably in Tamil Nadu today. The number of refugees who went there following the wave of persecution a little over a year ago is estimated at 40,000. Only a few live in camps; most of them have been taken in by friends and relatives. These 40,000 Tamils from Sri Lanka live among some 40 million of their fellow Tamils in India. There are at least six training camps for Tamil partisans on South Indian soil—near Pondicherry almost directly opposite Jaffna peninsula; at Thanjavur, Devakottai, Madurai and farther north in the vicinity of Kumbakonam and at Meenambakkam, a suburb of Madras. The Sri Lankan military on the other side of Palk Strait are perfectly willing to let one see the appropriate maps. The Colombo government has accused India on several occasions of aiding the Tigers and other terrorists and India has just as promptly and vehemently denied these accusations. In fact, there is absolutely nothing to indicate that the Indians have a hand in these activities such as they did for example during the 1970-1971 independence struggle in East Bengal. Hardly any observer in Madras has ever seen the inside of the camps; but hardly anyone doubts their existence. It may be said with some assurance that the Indian government does not supply the partisans either with weapons or explosives (explosives "made in Hyderabad, India" can readily be purchased at the Madras bazaar); that it asks the rebels to exercise political restraint but otherwise keeps them on a long leash.



The Tamil guerillas maintain two "information centers" in Madras. Some of their people live in the "Old Guest House for Regional Deputies." They publish pamphlets, newspapers and even four-color calendars. Some of the organizations even maintain "missions" in New Delhi. The members of the Indian Coast Guard look the other way when the terrorists cross over to Sri Lanka or when they return after one of their forays. Their wounded are treated at Madras General Hospital and many a partisan leader has traveled abroad on an Indian passport. Some of the military instructors are said to be retired Indian non-commissioned and commissioned officers, who earn some extra money this way. "We are not encouraging them; but we are not throwing them out either," says an official of the regional government. Weapons shipments from abroad—from Libya for example or from the socialist states of Eastern Europe—are not permitted. Some 6,000 fighters are said to have completed their training; but less than half of these are said to be armed. This provides India with far-reaching options and with a lever to use against the racial policies of the Colombo government, if it so desires, or against Sri Lanka's pro-Western foreign policy, if the New Delhi should ever feel that the neutrality of the Indian Ocean were being jeopardized.

There seems to be no lack of manpower, either among the guerillas or in the camps. Nowhere else are young Tamils between 15 and 25 in greater danger than back home in Jaffna where many of them dare not leave the house after 5 pm for fear that the soldiers will take revenge on them. "Only in India are our children safe," say a good many of the parents. Social life in Jaffna has changed; there are hardly any weddings any more. Young people have nothing to lose, if they go to Tamil Nadu for a time. According to official statistics, 41 percent of Tamil graduates with an "advanced" education did not have a job last year; the corresponding figure for Singhalese graduates was 29 percent. The saying in Jaffna is that even the "akka" or older sister wants to join the Tigers.

It is another question just how long the young people in the camps on South Indian soil will hold still. Except for target practice there is very little to do. There is no family life, no marriage, no schooling and no career. That explains the recurrent rumors that speak of "great things" to come in the next few months. The reference appears to be to attacks with Indian support on the military and the police in northern and eastern Sri Lanka. Some of the rumors may be viewed as having a connection with the Indian parliamentary elections scheduled for 24 December. Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lanka's minister of national security, had predicted the weekend attacks [sic]. His government [he said] also expected major actions by the guerillas in the capital city of Colombo. Several thousand partisans were said to have already landed in Jaffna. According to intelligence sources, the separatists were getting ready to proclaim "Eelam's" independence within the next 6 weeks.

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